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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 139



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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION POLLING TECHNIQUES EXPLAINED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 80 p 5

[Article by Yuan Yuan [0337 0337]: "The Origin of Public Opinion Polls"]

[Text] Public opinion polls, also called public opinion balloting originated in the United States. It is said that the first public opinion polls were conducted by newspapers prior to presidential elections for the purpose of making news attractive. The polls were conducted by asking readers to fill out and mail in simulated ballots in newspapers, called "straw ballots," to ascertain the attitudes of the citizens in order to forecast the outcome of presidential elections. So far as we know, the earliest "public opinion polls" were conducted by the Harrisburg PENNSYLVANIAN and the Raleigh STAR of the United States in 1824. However, the polls at that time exercised very little influence. People began to gradually pay attention to them only as late as the end of the 19th century. Beginning in 1904, public opinion polls of various scales were conducted prior to each presidential election. At first, the public opinion poll conducted by the LITERARY DIGEST magazine was in the limelight because of its scale and the accuracy of its predictions. However, in the 1936 presidential election campaign, the poll conducted by the LITERARY DIGEST predicting that Alfred M Landon would defeat Franklin D. Roosevelt turned out to be staggeringly inaccurate. At that time, LITERARY DIGEST mailed out a total of 10 million questionnaires, of which more than 2,370,000 were returned. Based on the statistical results, the magazine categorically predicted that Alfred M Landon would defeat Franklin D Roosevelt! However, another poll-taker, the "American Public Opinion Poll Institute," which was founded by George H Gallup only in 1935 and was then still unknown to the public, announced a totally different prediction: Franklin D Roosevelt would win by a majority. The result of the voting was 19 million votes for Roosevelt, a margin of 11 million over the total for Landon. This success has helped boost [Gallup's] reputation for accuracy ever since.

After 1936, attracting people's interest was no longer the main concern of public opinion polls; they entered a new era by applying scientific approach to practical research work. The public opinion polls were applied by Gallup not only to forecast the results of presidential elections, but also to political and social surveys, and even to go still further to market surveys and so forth. In 1939, Gallup founded a "Listeners' and Viewers' Survey and Research Institute" to specifically investigate the reactions of the public to broadcasting programs and moving pictures. At the same time, two public opinion poll organizations, respectively established by

Elmo Roper and Archibald M Crossley, also were very active. These are the three big public opinion poll organizations in the United States. In 1937, the American Public Opinion Research Association began to publish a "Report on Public Opinion Polls." In 1941, a "National Survey and Research Center" was set up by the University of Denver, which turned it over to the University of Chicago in 1947. Meanwhile, a number of public opinion poll organizations were set up in principal capitalist countries one after another. In 1970, the World Association of Public Opinion Polls had 300 members from 31 countries, among them members from countries in East Europe, Asia, and Africa, as well as Latin America.

The emphasis of public opinion polls in the beginning was on being fascinating; they made no claim to being scientific. The disastrous defeat of LITERARY DIGEST in 1936 was due chiefly to its wrong approach. No matter how large the scale of "straw ballots" was, its questionnaires were mailed to people chosen from telephone directories and from lists of automobile owners; yet people who did not own telephones or automobiles also cast their votes on election day. Therefore, a great disparity was certain.

The approach which Gallup adopted was "typical sampling." Based on Brown's theory of "typical selection," he classified a cross-section of the total American population into a number of terms under different categories such as sex, age, income, political attitudes, and locality. A certain number of survey targets were then allocated proportionally, thereby completing synthetical statistics. In the 1936 public opinion poll, he selected 1,000 survey targets. Facts have proven that if the proportion of typical sampling is selected correctly, it is usually more representative than nationwide large-scale polling.

However, this is not to say that this method is the acme of perfection. An unusual polling failure by all three big public opinion polling organizations--Gallup, Roper, and Crossley--as well as that of the month-long survey conducted by the NEW YORK TIMES throughout the nation took place in the 1948 presidential election [campaign]. At that time, these public opinion polling organizations, as well as the information media, which depend on public opinion polls, all announced that Thomas Dewey would defeat Harry Truman. The outcome of the election went just the other way. This failure caused public opinion polling institutions to be taunted by the whole nation. People made them "eat crow" (meaning to bow one's head and admit one's guilt). The Gallup Public Opinion Poll Institute and others conducted an investigation of their setbacks and came to a conclusion. They found that when they carried out their typical surveys, they overlooked voters who had only an elementary school education and they set the closing date for the survey too early; the attitude of the American people "changes everyday, and almost every hour." Since then, techniques for conducting public opinion polls have been reformed. A new technique, which combines both the "typical sampling" and the "random survey" (which is to select the target of survey at random), has been adopted so that the subjective flavor in the technique of typical selection might be attenuated.

In practice, polling was done in the very beginning by "straw ballots" in newspapers which readers were asked to fill out and mail in. This method was called the "card technique." Later, both the methods of "mailing questionnaires" and of "questioning people by interviewers" were separately employed. "Mailing



questionnaires" means mailing the contents of questionnaires to the survey targets and then compiling the answers; "questioning people by interviews means hiring canvassers to go out and question people individually (sometimes the telephone is also utilized).

In the West, public opinion polls meet with both praise and censure from the public. When they fail, people criticize them for having "fallen into a trap"; when they succeed, people praise them as being "absolutely reliable." We should say that public opinion polling has its advantages. It is an important technique for understanding society. The key lies in the attitudes and techniques of the pollster. In the capitalist society, wrangling exists among the parties and factions, and their financial groups and they intrigue and maneuver against each other. Their entanglements would certainly influence public opinion polling organizations. Polling also has been much used by politicians as a means of attacking their opponents; furthermore, the outcome of polls is utilized by them to influence public opinion. Therefore, one can hardly blame people who criticize that the "public opinion poll" has changed from an "instrument for testing" to an "instrument for commanding."

9560

CSO: 4005



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MUSKIE HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE ON HOSTAGE ISSUE

OW020228 Beijing XINHUA in English 0218 GMT 2 Nov 80

[Text] Washington, November 1 (XINHUA)--The U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie said today some "essential circumstances" have been realized for the release of the American hostages, but the United States still has no way of knowing when the release will come to fruition.

Speaking at a press conference held at the State Department, Muskie said there was a "growing awareness" in Iran that it is in Iran's interest to resolve the hostage issue. Iran's parliament has been put in place and a prime minister has been selected. But "we don't really know what terms the Iranians may propose if they take a decision tomorrow." "I have no basis upon which to set a time frame for a final resolution of the hostage question," he added.

Debate in the Iranian parliament on the hostage release began some time ago and a public debate on the terms for the release is scheduled in parliament tomorrow.

Muskie indicated that there probably would have to be some negotiations even if Iran's parliament debate concludes with a decision on the terms, saying such negotiations "are a probability because of the complexity of the issues."

Meanwhile, the administration assured Iran of its acceptance of the regime of Ayatollah Khomeyni. Answering a question at a press briefing yesterday, State Department spokesman John Trattner said, "We have accepted the results of the April 1979 referendum and consider the present government of Iran as the legally constituted government in Iran."

This move by the State Department is noted here as "part of the Carter administration strategy to try to persuade authorities in Iran that it accepts the revolutionary government." One of the conditions set by Khomeyni for the hostage release is a U.S. promise not to interfere in Iran's internal affairs, the others being return of the late shah's property, unfreezing of Iranian assets and dropping of legal claims against Iran.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI FOREIGN MINISTER COMMENTS ON UN KAMPUCHEA VOTE

OW241340 Beijing XINHUA in English 1258 GMT 24 Oct 80

[Text] Bangkok, October 24 (XINHUA)--Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila told the press yesterday that the adoption of the ASEAN proposal on Kampuchea by an overwhelming majority vote in the U.N. General Assembly has shown that the proposal is correct and won the support of the people throughout the world, according to press reports here today.

Vietnam and the Soviet Union, he pointed out, should heed the views of the great majority of countries. If they want peace, they should accept ASEAN's proposal. Their rejection of this proposal is unjustified. Past practice has proved what they have done is wrong.

Vietnam has done much to advertise its willingness to enter into direct negotiations with Thailand on the Kampuchean problem. This is an attempt to divert public attention from facts and the root cause of the problem. The Kampuchean problem is not an issue between Thailand and Vietnam but one of foreign troops' invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. Therefore, a dialogue between the two would not possibly bring peace to Kampuchea, he said.

Thailand, the foreign minister noted, has not ignited a war in Kampuchea. The Thai troops are stationed in Thai-Kampuchean border areas for the sole purpose of defending the state sovereignty.

He said that the Vietnamese people are afflicted with untold suffering. The country is faced with many problems. Its grain shortage is expected to reach three to four million tons next year. The Vietnamese authorities should keep the interests of their own people at heart and spend much more time to build their country instead of pursuing war, Sitthi added.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT DISCUSSES AFGHAN REFUGEE SITUATION

OW030113 Beijing XINHUA In English 0103 GMT 3 Nov 80

[Text] Islamabad, November 2 (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Mohammed Ziaul Haq said this evening that his people felt the pain of the Soviet intervention against the people of Afghanistan, who were their brethren in faith and their next door neighbour.

Speaking at a civic reception held in Peshawar, capital of the North West Frontier Province, he pointed out that due to this intervention, hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees crossed over to Pakistan, and their number reached from 1.1 to 1.2 million. Their deplorable conditions were a challenge to human conscience. If this challenge was not met and no voice was raised against it, then it would be knocking at the doors of someone else tomorrow, he added.

For this principled stand, he went on to say, Pakistan was being punished with violations of its northern and northwestern borders. Defenceless and innocent refugees were fired upon and the border posts were attacked on air.

The president stressed that these attacks were intended to telling Pakistan that it will have to pay heavily, if it does not abandon its present policy on Afghanistan. But, Pakistan's policy was based on certain moral principles, which it could not abandon at any cost.

The president emphasized, "We cannot sacrifice our principles to please others, nor can we compromise our national prestige due to threats." He added, "Every man, woman and child of Pakistan would be steadfast to foil any designs against the security of Pakistan."

He reiterated that Pakistan wanted a political settlement of the Afghan crisis. "We wish that foreign troops should leave Afghanistan and its Islamic and non-aligned character should be restored." Pakistan also wished to see the Afghan refugees return to their homeland with honour and dignity and the Afghan people allowed to have a government of their own choice, he said.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ARAB MINISTERS URGE END TO IRAN-IRAQ WAR

OW291600 Beijing XINHUA in English 1524 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Amman, October 29 (XINHUA)--The participants in a meeting at the seven-member committee of Arab foreign ministers here expressed the hope that the war between Iraq and Iran would end as soon as possible and that Arab efforts would be focused on the main danger facing the Arab nation: Israeli aggression and occupation.

The foreign ministers of Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Algeria and the head of the political department of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) are meeting here to make preparations for the 11th Arab summit conference to be held here next month.

In a statement on his arrival here yesterday, Saudi Foreign Minister Sa'ud Ibn al-Faysal expressed the hope that "the war between Iraq and Iran would end as soon as possible.

The Palestine question, he said, "will be the foremost among the topics the foreign ministers' committee will discuss in drawing up a strategy for the summit."

In his arrival statement, Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir stressed that it is necessary to tackle inter-Arab problems and confront the major challenges facing the Arab nation.

Meanwhile, Algerian Foreign Minister Ben Yahia said that the aim of the meeting is to draw up a unified Arab strategy for confronting the Zionist enemy and achieving the paramount goals of the Arab nation in liberating Palestine including holy Jerusalem and the occupied areas."

In a statement to the press, PLO spokesman 'Abd al-Muhsin Abu Mayzar said, "PLO hopes that the Iraq-Iran war could be ended."

Speaking at the first session of the meeting, head of the PLO political department Faruq Qaddumi pointed out that the meeting should focus on the main danger confronting the Arab nation, namely, Israeli aggression and occupation.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### USSR PLUNDERING AFGHANISTAN'S RESOURCES

OW291955 Beijing XINHUA in English 1942 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 29 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union is milking Afghanistan of natural gas and other resources, according to a UPI report from Peshawar today quoting a group of former Afghan senior officials who fled to the Pakistan border town of Peshawar recently.

The officials said that the Soviets are taking large quantities of natural gas, fertilizer, cement and other Afghan goods but paying only a small part of their real value.

They said that the Soviet occupation troops now take complete hold of Khoja Gogerdak and Jar Gudugh gas fields in Jauze Jang Province, about 18 miles from the Soviet border.

"They (Russians) are treating our resources as if they belonged to Russia," noted a Planning Ministry official. "They do not even let us examine our own records so we don't know exactly how much gas Afghanistan actually produces," complained another official from the Ministry of Mines and Industries. They estimated production of the fields at 2.3 billion cubic meters per year.

The officials said that the Soviet Union purchases the country's total gas production at dlr 82 per 1,000 cubic meters on credit which they said comes to only half the world market price.

The Soviets also buy fertilizers, cement, cotton seed oil and fruits on a credit/barter basis, with Afghan products calculated at half their commercial value and the Soviet exchange goods overvalued, the officials said.

An economist who used to work at the Planning Ministry disclosed that the Afghans purchase sugar on credit in return for their cement sales and lose dlr 97 per ton of sugar on the deal in terms of world market standards.

Urea nitrogen fertilizers from the Mazar-i-Sharif plant in Balkh Province fetches only dlr 120 per ton, or less than half world market price, a former Agriculture Ministry official said.

The Soviets have halted all shipment of olives and citrus fruits from orchards outside Jalalabad to Iran, and pay about 25 per cent of what the Iranians used to pay for the now requisitioned produce, they added.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BANGLADESH OFFICIAL DISCUSSES GULF WAR, KAMBODGIA, DRA

OWO32313 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Nov 80

[From the "Forum on International Affairs" feature--"Recent" interview by Mue (Chen Yunqi) of the UN Broadcasting Department with Bangladesh Foreign Minister Mohammad Shamsul Haq attending the UN General Assembly--recorded in English fading into Mandarin translation]

[Text] [Chen] Mr Foreign Minister, you are aware that the Iran-Iraq conflict has caused very serious concern around the world. The Islamic conference good-will delegation has been trying to mediate the conflict between the two countries. In your opinion, what are the prospects for settling the conflict? What other measures is the Islamic conference prepared to take?

[Haq] The problem that you have mentioned is indeed an extremely distressing one about which all UN member states are concerned. As you know, the two Islamic, developing and nonaligned Asian countries must take measures themselves to end the unfortunate, tragic hostilities between them. The delegation sent by the Islamic conference was not a mediation but a good-will delegation. The purpose of the delegation was to convey to the leaders of Iran and Iraq the great concern of the Islamic conference member states for the relations between the two countries. This is what the good-will delegation did. It called on the presidents of the two countries and briefed the conference of foreign ministers of Islamic countries on the situation. After hearing the briefing, those attending the conference of foreign ministers of Islamic countries had their own views on the situation. But they all held that it is necessary, first of all, to stop the hostilities and to seek a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the two countries. We will further hear the opinions of the two countries and study them. With the UN Security Council's endorsement, positive proposals have been put forward. I have found that all delegates from nonaligned countries to the UN Security Council are concerned about this matter. We should make special efforts and ask the UN Security Council to endeavor to have the two countries stop their hostilities and peacefully settle their conflict at a negotiation table. The UN Security Council held a formal meeting and adopted a resolution calling on the two sides to stop their hostilities and settle their conflict through peace talks. We hope that Iran and Iraq will send their representatives to the UN Security Council and the Islamic conference to hear the opinions of other countries. In this way, it will be possible to find a way to stop the very unfortunate hostilities between the two countries. A fair and honorable settlement of the conflict should be sought through peace talks.



As far as Bangladesh's stand is concerned, it is the same as the stand of most other countries. People will be disappointed if any country does anything causing the war to spread or extend. We hope that the two superpowers will remain neutral.

[Chen] We really hope that you will be successful in this. The next question is: What stand will your country take on the question of the Kampuchean seat in the United Nations?

[Haq] I believe you understand that the stand taken by Bangladesh is a principled one. We have taken this stand in line with the principles of the UN Charter--serious concern for the sovereignty of all countries, refraining from using military or other means to interfere in other countries' internal affairs and refraining from using armed force in the threat of force to settle a conflict. We recognize the right of all countries to choose their own political, economic and social systems. But I hold that they should be able to make their own choice without foreign interference. These are the principles on which Bangladesh has based its stand.

The change of government in Kampuchea has been caused by others' interference. Therefore, our stand is that all foreign troops should withdraw from Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people should be allowed to choose their own government freely without any outside interference or military threat. As you know, we support the government of Democratic Kampuchea and its seat in the United Nations.

[Chen] Yes, in this connection, the ASEAN countries have suggested that an international conference be called sometime in 1981 to discuss the Kampuchea issue. What is your opinion on this?

[Haq] I should consider this proposal sympathetically in far as Bangladesh is concerned. I think you understand that the root cause for the clash is unfortunately spreading in South and in the developing Third World. All the delegates attending the UN session must join their efforts to eliminate the root cause of the conflict. Just like what you have seen, special conferences have been held on other major issues. Therefore, we cannot find any reason to oppose the holding of such a conference.

[Chen] Another disquieting situation in Asia is the Afghanistan issue. The special session of the General Assembly held last January adopted a resolution calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan. However, as of now, this resolution has not been carried yet. This issue will once again be debated at the UN session. What will be the outcome of the debate?

[Haq] I believe this is a major issue about which all UN member nations are concerned because Afghanistan is located in a very sensitive area. It borders Pakistan and Iran. Therefore, Bangladesh, as an Asian nation and a member of the Security Council and a developing nation, earnestly hopes to step up its efforts to find a political solution for this issue. This calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops and efforts to create conditions to help the Afghan people determine their own destiny and choose their



own government. The refugees who continuously pour into Pakistan and Iran have also created another new issue. I believe that the groups concerned are drafting a resolution. We hope that the delegates attending the UN session will support this resolution. This is a proposal put forward by the Islamic conference. I hope that this proposal will be adopted by the majority of the UN member nations at the 35th General Assembly.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### AFGHAN GUERRILLAS CLAIM SUCCESSFUL ANTI-SOVIET OPERATIONS

OWU41602 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 4 Nov 80

[Text] Islamabad, November 4 (XINHUA)--Afghan freedom-fighters shot down two Russian helicopter gunships and captured a sub-provincial headquarters in Jawzjan Province bordering the Soviet Union northwest of Kabul, a spokesman of the Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan said this in Peshawar today quoting a report from Sang Charak, Jawzjan Province.

The freedom-fighters also claim to have killed 100 Russian and Afghan Government troops, and destroyed ten tanks. In retaliation, Russian planes bombarded the area. In all the attacks, Russian planes came directly from Soviet soil.

He also reported that another fight took place in Khawai sub-province of Jawzjan Province, with the Russians suffering even more casualties in this incident.

According to a spokesman of Hezb-i-Islami (Islamic Party) of Afghanistan in Peshawar today, Afghan freedom-fighters also inflicted very heavy losses on the Russian and Karmal's troops in big clashes in Alishang District of Lagham Province northwest of Kabul on October 29. Over a hundred Russian troops were reported killed and eight tanks and armoured cars destroyed in the fight.

He added that Russian troops had attacked Alishang District several times before in an attempt to gain control over the areas liberated by freedom-fighters but each time they were beaten back.

Freedom-fighters recently attacked the Russian troops stationed in Maqoor District of Ghazni Province southwest of Kabul, destroying two tanks and one armoured car, the same source said.

Guerrilla operations by freedom-fighters were also reported in various parts of Logar Province south of Kabul.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### AFGHAN GUERRILLAS ACTIVE AGAINST RUSSIANS

OW291520 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Islamabad, October 29 (XINHUA)--Afghan freedom-fighters have been successful in their guerrilla operations in the capital Kabul nearly every night, according to a spokesman of Hezb-i-Islami of Afghanistan in Peshawar today.

He added that the freedom-fighters attacked Soviet forces on October 26 in Shahabuddin Maidan region, about two kilometers west of Kabul. In this surprise attack, an oil tank was burnt down, 30 Russian soldiers were killed and one Russian tank destroyed.

Heavy fighting between freedom-fighters and Soviet troops was reported in various areas in Kunduz Province bordering the Soviet Union, the same source said. In a battle on October 26 in Ajghat village of Imam Sahib District of the province, 10 Russian soldiers were killed by a mine planted by the freedom-fighters. In another fight lasting about three hours early in the morning of October 26 in the same district, 38 Russians were killed and 50 others wounded. In addition, two Russian armoured cars and two personnel carriers were destroyed.

According to the Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan in Peshawar today, Afghan freedom-fighters are actively fighting the enemy in the northern provinces along the Afghan-Soviet border and the main roads of these provinces. The freedom-fighters staged a surprise attack on Faizabad airport recently in Badakhshan Province, killing five Russians including one officer, and destroying a tank and a jeep. The source said that in another attack near the Amu River on October 10, 13 Russians including one officer were wiped out. In Baghlan Province, the freedom-fighters attacked the sub-governor headquarters two weeks ago, killing 30 Russians and destroying 7 enemy tanks. They also attacked a militia center in the Rustaq District of Takhar Province, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. The Russians had tried to strengthen their positions in Rustaq but failed.

The source said that the freedom-fighters ambushed a Russian convoy last week along the Kabul-Logar road and traffic remained closed for many days there as a result of this encounter. Scattered fighting took place in different areas along the Kabul-Gardez highway. The Kabul-Jalalabad highway was also attacked very often.

The same source added that the freedom-fighters recently attacked the western part of Jalalabad city and killed five Russians.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### UGANDAN PAPER DENOUNCES SOVIET 'EXPLOITATION'

OWO21643 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 2 Nov 80

[Text] Kampala, November 2 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union has been "camouflaging its imperialist designs of exploitation and plunder with socialist rhetoric of mutual benefit and cooperation" in its economic relations with Third World countries, the Ugandan weekly TOPIC notes in its latest issue.

Referring to Soviet trade with these countries, the weekly says that the trade has been characterized by unequal exchange. In recent years, it adds, the Soviet Union has been raising the prices of its exports. From 1970 to 1974, for instance, it sold its products to Third World countries at prices 70 per cent higher than those of products turned out by Western industrialized countries.

At the same time, the weekly goes on, the Soviet Union has been forcing down the prices of its imports from the Third World. It is estimated that the Soviet Union makes purchases in the Third World 15 per cent cheaper than its rivals.

Furthermore, the weekly points out, the Soviet Union often resells its imports to obtain hard currencies to the detriment of the developing countries.

On the Soviet cooperation with over 50 developing countries in production, the weekly says that instead of helping them realize self-sufficiency and consolidate economic independence, the Soviet Union has been trying by every means to secure raw materials from them. Through building companies for Third World countries on credits and getting part of the products as repayment, the Soviet Union obtains extraordinary opportunities for worldwide economic manipulation and domination.

All this shows the economic aggressiveness of "the natural ally" of liberation movements and anti-imperialist struggles of the Third World, the weekly says in conclusion.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### JAPANESE RALLY DEMANDS RETURN OF NORTHERN TERRITORIES

OW251658 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 25 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, October 25 (XINHUA)--Some 1,500 representatives of various circles and strata from all parts of Japan held a mass rally in Tokyo this afternoon to express their determination to push forward the movement of demanding the Soviet Union to return the northern territories, according to [word indistinct] report from Tokyo.

Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito, who is now in Hokkaido to inspect the northern territories at sea [as received] sent a message from Menuro City to the rally, calling on the various private organizations to enhance still more powerfully the movement of backing the government's efforts in negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Ito said in his message that he had decidedly brought up the demand for the return of the northern territories when he had talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in New York this autumn. He added, "the government is resolved to carry on still more tenaciously the negotiations with the Soviet Union to seek an en bloc return of the four islands."

Addressing the rally, Taro Nakayama, director-general of the administrative affairs in the prime minister's office, said: "The Suzuki cabinet agrees to develop Japanese-Soviet friendly relations." "However," he emphasized, "we should make the Soviet Union understand that the return of the northern territories is indispensable for the development of genuine Japanese-Soviet friendly relations." He added that he agreed to the proposal by a woman representative on the establishment of "day of northern territories."

Other speakers at the rally expressed their great indignations at the despotic act of the Soviet Union which has continued illegal occupation of Japan's inherent northern territories and has installed more military bases there. They pointed out that in order to repel the Soviet high-handed attitude, the Japanese masses should unite closely by overcoming their differences in political faith and generations, persist tenaciously in the just demand and make still more efforts to arouse international public opinion.

A declaration adopted at the rally criticized the illegal Soviet occupation of the four Japanese northern islands for 35 years and reiterated the demand for their return.

The rally was sponsored jointly by 93 private organizations.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GDR RESTRICTS VISITS BETWEEN GERMANS, POLES

OW291929 Beijing XINHUA in English 1922 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Berlin, October 29 (XINHUA)--The German Democratic Republic (GDR) will, as of October 30, enforce new regulations which restrict private visits between citizens of the country and Poland.

Under the regulations, GDR citizens can visit Poland only at the invitation of their Polish hosts and with the authorization of the police section charged with issuing passports and handling exit formalities. The frontier checkpoint will examine whether they have gone through all the formalities.

Polish citizens, on the other hand, must have invitations issued by GDR citizens and endorsed by GDR authorities before they are allowed to enter and stay in GDR. GDR citizens, foreign nationals, and those who have settled in GDR without specific nationality can invite Polish people to visit them only with approval by the pertinent police authorities.

Polish workers and their families in GDR must produce certificates issued by the enterprises concerned when they travel to or from the GDR territory.

People of the two countries have been visa-free in mutual visits. A visitor needs only to show his identity card when crossing the border.

The GDR Government stressed that the changes introduced in travel regulations are "temporary."

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY ENDS VISIT TO HUNGARY

OW300150 Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 30 Oct 80

[Text] Budapest, October 29 (XINHUA)--British Foreign Secretary of State Lord Carrington said here today that what had happened in Poland was a matter of Polish internal affairs and he hoped that all countries would share the same view.

He made the statement at a press conference before leaving for Warsaw at the end of his official visit to Hungary. He was the first British foreign secretary of state to visit the country since 1975.

He told reporters that he was the first minister from the West to visit Poland since the Polish event had taken place. He hoped that his visit would be helpful to a clear understanding of what had happened in Poland.

Talking about his visit to Hungary, he said that his visit was to further develop the bilateral relations and promote confidence in each other.

He said that he had had friendly and constructive talks with his Hungarian counterpart Pujya Frigye. Both sides held that there were no problems in the Anglo-Hungarian relations and they expressed their willingness to further the development of the bilateral relations on the basis of mutual benefit and mutual respect, he added.

Carrington and Pujya also had an exchange of views on international affairs which, he said, had led to a better understanding of each other's positions.

Hungarian party leader Kadar Janos met Carrington this morning, who arrived here on October 27.

CSO: 4020



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### JAMAICA'S POLITICAL TURBULENCE NOTED

OW291846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Georgetown, October 28 (XINHUA)--With the general election date set for October 30th approaching, the political situation in Jamaica has become more and more turbulent as the struggle between the ruling People's National Party (PNP) and the main opposition party, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), turned white-hot, according to a report from Kingston.

As the nation-wide election campaigns carried out by both the PNP led by Prime Minister Michael Manley and the JLP led by Edward Seaga now entered into the final stage, supporters of both parties have held mass rallies in various places of the country and Manley and Seaga outlined their respective election programmes and lashed out at each other on many occasions.

Seaga announced at a rally in the capital of Kingston today that "if the government tries (to win the election) by manipulation, by abuse, by fraud," his party will respond to it with the call for a general strike. At the same time, Manley urged his supporters to refrain from letting themselves be provoked.

The election campaign in Jamaica has been conducted at a time when the political uncertainty and the frequent political-inspired violence prevailed in the country. Over 200 people have been slain in violence since Prime Minister Manley announced the general election earlier this year. The PNP and JLP blamed each other for the violence, especially for the slaying of Roy McGann, assistant national security minister.

Jamaica also faces grave economic difficulties. According to Western news agencies, now unemployment in Jamaica has reached 30 percent, the country's indebtedness is about 1,450 million U.S. dollars and its annual growth rate in 1979 was minus two percent.

Both the ruling and opposition parties hold diametrically opposed views as to the grave social and economic problems facing the country. PNP leader Manley wanted to continue to practice his "democratic socialism" and refused to accept the loans offered by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), while JLP leader Seaga insisted that a free-enterprise economy be restored, the country's relations with both Cuba and the Soviet Union severed and the IMF's loans accepted.

Manley accused JLP of trying to reimplant the power of the moneyed groups with the support of the United States, while the JLP leader charged the ruling PNP leader with "flirting" with Cuba and wanting to transform Jamaica into an "English-speaking Cuba" as well as ruining the country's economy. The JLP leader has recently also exposed the arrival of seven high-ranking Cuban officials in Jamaica and requested that the government closely watch them so as to make the general elections free from any outside interference.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HONG KONG ENTREPRENEUR SETS UP PRIVATE BUSINESS IN SHENZHEN

HK300124 Hong Kong STANDARD in English 30 Oct 80 p 2

[Text] A Hong Kong businessman has opened what he claims is China's first privately owned business--a hamburger bar in the border town of Shenzhen.

And according to Mr Lai Ping-kun, the Chinese are eager to try their first taste of fast food.

But the shop has a more important role to play--as a testing ground for free enterprise in China.

"They want to use us as a guinea pig for how they will adopt the capitalist way of business," said Mr Lai.

He also plans to set up a HK\$2 million factory making instant noodles.

The shop, Wang Ming Co-Food Factory, which also sells chips, hot dogs, rice and drinks, will be used for comparing with other forms of business in the country, such as state-owned, collective-owned and joint ventures with foreign countries, he said.

Mr Lai said the business was originally to be a joint venture.

It was later turned into a private-owned business and the decision was approved by the Guangdong Provincial Administration of Special Economic Zones.

Mr Lai said the profit of the business will not be shared and the business has only to pay rents and income tax to the Chinese authorities.

Wing Ming Co-Food Factory is paying 1,000 yuan a month for a shop area of 140 sq meters in liberation road.

The shop pays a 15 percent income tax, is the same for joint ventures in the special economic zones.

"There is no testing period for the business," Mr Lai said, adding that he is confident that the shop will make a profit.

The most striking advantage of a private-owned business is "flexibility," he said.

"We can respond to the changing demands of the market quickly, and we can sack inappropriate workers without consulting the Chinese authorities," he said.

Mr Lai said the equipment and materials for the noodle factory will be imported from places like Japan and Taiwan and the noodles will be sold locally and overseas.

Some of the materials for the fast food are imported from Hong Kong, such as beef, flour and potatoes.

The shop's chefs are all brought from Hong Kong, mainly to ensure that the quality of the food is up to the standard.

However, Mr Lai praised local workers. "They are very hard working and regulation-biding," he said.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PRC, FRENCH GEOLOGISTS COMPLETE PHASE OF HIMALAYAS STUDY

OW900022 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 29 Oct 80

[Text] Lhasa, October 29 (XINHUA)--Chinese and French geologists have completed a two-month-long study of the Himalayas in the first phase of a three-year project.

Scientists of the two countries have studied the geological structures and the formation and evolution of the earth's crust and upper mantle of the Himalayas so as to uncover the factors that caused the upthrust.

The joint project is part of a Sino-French agreement on scientific and technological cooperation signed in 1978. It is the first joint project that Chinese scientists have ever undertaken in the Himalayas.

The Chinese scientists participating are scholars from the Chinese Academy of Geological Sciences, the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Geological Bureau of Tibet, who have been engaged in geological research into the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau for years.

Many of the French scientists have previously participated in field expeditions to the southern slopes of the Himalayas.

Covering a total distance of more than 5,000 kilometres from the southern foot of the Nyainqentanglha Mountains to the Himalayas proper, the scientists have collected nearly 10,000 paleobiological and rock samples and charted a geological map of the area. They studied the ophiolite suite, part of a former marine bed and the upper mantle, which was uplifted because of a collision between two tectonic plates. Their findings have provided important clues to the study of the theory of tectonics.

The Chinese and French geologists have found typical tethys rock characteristic of the ancient Mediterranean area. This is an important scientific clue in the study of the paleogeology in the Himalayas. Tethys has been found in the Kashmir area only in the past few years.

French Professor Trubien discovered that the ophiolite rock in Dazhuka is covered with a layer of marine sedimentation, a phenomenon he had earlier found on a Mediterranean island. He concluded that a sea environment still existed when the ophiolite rock was formed. French Professor Nicolas, through the study of characteristics of rock formations in very deep geological layers, discovered that the marine bed rock dating back more than one hundred million years is of the same type as that found in the middle ridge in the Atlantic.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### EEC TO LIMIT STEEL PRODUCTION

OWO11702 Beijing XINHUA in English 1649 GMT 1 Nov 80

[Text] Brussels, October 31 (XINHUA)--The European Common Market officially declared last night that the steel industry in Europe was in a state of "manifest crisis" and EEC member countries have approved an emergency plan to put mandatory limits on steel production.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Common Market in Luxembourg yesterday.

The decision calls for cuts of between 13 and 20 per cent in steel products in the last quarter of this year. It will continue in effect until June 30, 1981.

Since the founding of the Common Market, it was the first time that such a measure was taken in accordance with the European coal and steel community treaty.

EEC steel production has been deteriorating since last June. Shrinking market, reduced production, price cuts and declining finance forced the EEC Commission to ask the Council of Ministers on October 6 to change the situation by imposing mandatory production cuts on the industry.

The steel industry is of great importance to the EEC economy. Over 700,000 employees of the industry are following the decision uneasily. The production cuts will inevitably bring about unemployment. From 1974, the beginning of the steel crisis, to 1980, the industry has 180,000 employees less, one fourth of the total number now employed. The number of unemployed in the steel industry reached 8,816 this month, or 2.5 times that of the previous month.

There is uncertainty about next year's steel production. According to the estimation of the International Iron and Steel Institute, consumption in Europe will drop 4.6 per cent as happened this year. The September issue of the Belgian monthly NOUVEAU COCKERILL said, "People discover today that the real crisis has just begun. No one knows where it will go."

SO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**VIETNAMESE SOLDIERS WITHDRAWAL**--Beijing, November 1 (XINHUA)--A number of South Vietnamese soldiers stationed in the city of Kampong Chhnang of Kampuchea recently openly demanded the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reports today. The radio said these South Vietnamese soldiers distributed leaflets in the city on October 25 along with Kampuchean puppet troops and self-defence guards, denouncing the Hanoi authorities for launching the war of aggression and demanding that Vietnam implement the related U.N. resolutions by withdrawing its troops from Kampuchea and allowing the Kampuchean people to solve their own problems by themselves. The radio said similar leaflets also appeared in and around the barracks, creating a panic among Vietnamese officers. [Text] [OW010734 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 1 Nov 80]

**GREATER ASEAN VIGILANCE**--Hong Kong, October 31 (XINHUA)--The Malaysian paper SING PING YIT PAO in an editorial yesterday called on the ASEAN countries to be prepared against foreign aggression. The editorial said that Thailand and the other ASEAN countries are opposed to Vietnam's military aggression against Kampuchea. They believed that Vietnam's motive may not confine to the conquest of Kampuchea. It recalled that the Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea had intruded into Thailand's border area but were firmly repulsed by the Thai frontier guards. The editorial pointed out that Thailand is a member of ASEAN and enjoys its full support. ASEAN regards any aggression against Thailand as a challenge to itself, it added. Therefore, it said, the ASEAN countries must be prepared and strengthen their defense capability. [Text] [OW311708 Beijing XINHUA in English 1634 GMT 31 Oct 80]

**POLISH OFFICIALS IN MOSCOW**--Moscow, October 30 (XINHUA)--First secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Stanislaw Kania and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Jozef Pankowski arrived here today on a "friendly working visit" at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government. Polish leaders were greeted at the airport by Leonid Brezhnev, Nikolay Tikhonov, Andrey Gromyko and Konstantin Ruzakov. It is believed that the talks between the Soviet and Polish leaders will center on the current situation in Poland and the Soviet authorities' attitude towards the Polish event. [Text] [OW301706 Beijing XINHUA in English 1657 GMT 30 Oct 80]



HUNGARIAN OFFICIALS, UNIONISTS MEET--Budapest, November 4 (XINHUA)--The government and representatives of the trade unions called a joint meeting recently to discuss the tasks of the national economy, the new five-year plan, the people's living conditions, employment, social policies and other major problems, according to a Hungarian press report. The report said that the trade unions agreed with the objectives as fixed in the draft of the new five-year plan. The trade union representatives stressed at the meeting that "a major requirement to ensure a wholesome social atmosphere lies in the maintenance of the average real wages of the workers, salaried employees and members of the agricultural cooperatives in 1980. The representatives urged the administrative institutions of the government to pay special attention to the living standards of the working class in the days to come." They also proposed a hike of the real value of family and child care subsidies, social benefits and minimum pensions. Such joint meetings have been held semiannually since 1975. [Text] [OW041614 Beijing XINHUA in English 1605 GMT 4 Nov 80]

TEXTILE DELEGATION TO PANAMA--Panama City, October 23 (XINHUA)--Vice-President of Panama Ricardo De La Espriella this afternoon received Huang Runtong and two other representatives of the China National Textile Import and Export Corporation and had a cordial and friendly talk with them. De La Espriella welcomed the establishment of the office of representatives of the China National Textile Import and Export Corporation in Panama as a new step for promoting the relations between Panama and China. The three representatives of the corporation arrived here not long ago. [Text] [OW270926 Beijing XINHUA in English 0751 GMT 24 Oct 80 OW]

ARGENTINA SEISMIC SEMINAR--Buenos Aires, October 24 (XINHUA)--Over 80 seismologists and geologists from more than 20 countries held a five-day seminar which ended today in San Juan, West Argentina, to discuss earthquake forecasting and estimates of quake disasters. The Chinese delegation made a report on the characteristics and divisions of China's seismic structure, the features, classification and forecasting of major earthquakes in recent years, and other problems. [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 25 Oct 80 OW]

THAI PRIME MINISTER VISITS--Beijing, October 28 (XINHUA)--General Prem Tinsulanon, prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, and his party attended the Chinese historical dance drama, "Silk Road Episode" here this evening. Arranged by the Ministry of Culture, the performance was presented by the song and dance ensemble of the art troupe of the Ministry of Coal Industry. Set in the most prosperous period of the Tang Dynasty, the dance drama describes how a Dunhuang muralist, his daughter and a foreign merchant, trading along the silk road, help each other and cement a close friendship. The performance drew enthusiastic applause. At the end of the performance, the prime minister went on stage and presented the dancers with a basket of flowers. Accompanying the distinguished Thai guests were Huang Zhen, minister of culture, Han Nianlong, vice-minister of foreign affairs, and Zhang Weilie, Chinese ambassador to Thailand. This afternoon, Prime Minister Prem and his party toured the temple of heaven. [Text] [OW281508 Beijing XINHUA in English 1459 GMT 28 Oct 80]

CUBA RELEASES AMERICANS—Moscow, October 2 (AP)—Three Americans released by the Cuban Revolutionary Government after they had been held up in Cuba since the 1971-72 period. The three were alleged hijackers. One of the three was arrested in France on trafficking in drugs. Most of them were released in the past few years. It is reported that Americans will now be released if they are arrested on some charges when they return home. A British newspaper source said this was "a positive step towards the Harper administration as part of a general pattern of attempts at reconciliation." Three other alleged Americans chose to stay in Cuba. (Text) (067143) Beijing KINWA in English 1801 27 011 01

JAPANESE OFFICIALS CRITICIZE SOVIETS—Tokyo, October 2 (AP)—Japan will continue to stress the pressure for the return of the Soviet Union of the Japanese northern territories. Japanese in its statement diplomacy towards that country, stressed Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama's view today. According to a KYODO report, he criticized the Soviet Union for its military buildup in the southern yellow sea and its military intervention in Afghanistan. Speaking before the House of Representatives special committee on security, Okinawa and northern problems this morning, he said that the Soviet Union is one of Japan's major neighbors. However, Japan's northern territories are still under the illegal Soviet occupation. He expressed deep regret for the recent Soviet military buildup on the northern territories. He said that on the one hand, Japan should stand firm on what it should do in its dealings with the Soviet Union, and on the other hand, it believes that Japanese task is to establish stable relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of mutual understanding." He said that Japan would not let the defense power become a U.S. military bulwark in the Pacific Ocean and reduce American military power in Asia and the West Pacific. He said with determination, the foreign minister said, "What our country is doing is to abide by the people's intention of pure defense and not to be a military power, regardless of expansion and reinforcing our self-defense force within the framework of the constitution and to ensure the deterrence effect of the Japan-U.S. security treaty." (Text) (06741248 Beijing KINWA in English 1801 27 011 01)

HONG KONG, LONDON, BEIJING—Beijing, Oct. 28 (AP)—The Chinese flag carrier CAAC will make its 1000th flight from Beijing to Hong Kong next Tuesday and the three days of London on November 19. It was officially announced today. Chinese officials said the civil aviation administration of China (CAAC) will operate three weekly flights from here to the British colony and the flight to London will start on September 19, 1979. Sino-British air agreement. British Airways will operate a weekly London-Moscow-Berlin-Berlin flight on November 19. (Text) (06728170 Hong Kong AP in English 0933 28 011 01)

CHINESE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION—Washington, October 25 (AP)—The National Association of Chinese Americans (NACA) held here today its annual national convention, which was attended by representatives from various parts of the country. A report on the association's work in the past few years was delivered by its former President Dr. Chen-ching Yang. The convention elected a new executive committee and named MIT Professor Fan-fan Li as the association's president. The association's work for the coming years was discussed at the convention. Chinese Ambassador Chai Jiao gave a reception

this evening in honour of the convention's participants. The NACA was founded three years ago for the enhancement of friendship between the American and Chinese peoples as well as among the Chinese Americans. [Text] [OW270926 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 26 Oct 80 OW]

THAI OFFICIAL ON KAMPUCHEA--Bangkok, October 28 (XINHUA)--Thanat Khoman, deputy prime minister of Thailand, said yesterday that the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea violated international law, according to Thai National Radio. His statement was made in reply to newsmen after presiding over the ASEAN scientific and cultural ministerial conference being held in Thailand's city of Pattaya. He stressed that the Kampuchean problem is not one between Thailand and Vietnam, but is one between Vietnam and Kampuchea. He added that confronted with the condemnation by international public opinion, the Vietnamese authorities are trying to strengthen military operation in Kampuchea. Therefore, Thailand must be more watchful against Vietnam's military moves in Kampuchea. [Text] [OW281528 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 28 Oct 80]

POLISH OFFICIAL VISITS USSR--Warsaw, October 29 (XINHUA)--Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, and Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, are going to the Soviet Union tomorrow on a working visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, according to a PAP report today. [Text] [OW300846 Beijing XINHUA in English 0709 GMT 30 Oct 80]

BRITISH OFFICIAL IN POLAND--Warsaw, October 20 (XINHUA)--The visiting British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington said here this evening that events in Poland were "self-evidently an internal affair to be settled by the Polish Government and people without external interference." He made the point in a toast at a dinner given in his honour by Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek. Before the dinner, he was received by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and they conferred on international problems and ways and means of strengthening Polish-British relations. Chairman Jozef Pinkowski of the Polish Council of Ministers met him later today. They discussed bilateral relations and stronger economic ties in particular. The British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs came here from Budapest today for a three-day official visit to this country. [Text] [OW300849 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 30 Oct 80]

YUGOSLAVIAN DEFENSE--Belgrade, October 29 (XINHUA)--The need to steadily strengthen the armed forces was stressed at a meeting of the National Defence Council of the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia today, according to a TANJUG report. Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the presidency of the Federal Republic, chaired the meeting which discussed the present international military and political situation. The meeting pointed out that the further deterioration of the international situation makes it imperative for Yugoslavia to strengthen its defence in all fields, that is, to strengthen economic, social and political stability and the armed forces. The meeting called on the people of all nationalities of the country to do their utmost towards this end. [Text] [OW300851 Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 30 Oct 80]

INDIAN OCEAN NAVAL FORCE—Paris, October 30 (XINHUA)—Five French minesweepers are en route to the Indian Ocean to join the permanent naval squadron there, the president's office announced here today. They include two 700-ton mine hunters and three 400-ton minesweepers, accompanied by a supply ship. They will be based at Djibouti. The ships left a week after France sent the guided missile frigate Suffren to the Indian Ocean. [Text] (OW29) 007 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 29 OCT 80]

SOVIET INVASION DEBUNKED—Beijing, November 1 (XINHUA)—The Central African and Gabonese presidents condemn the Soviet troops' invasion of Afghanistan, a non-aligned Islamic country," said a joint communique issued yesterday at the end of the two-day visit to Gabon by President Davidacko of Central Africa, according to a report from Libreville. The communique added that the two heads of state supported the mediation by non-aligned countries in the Iran-Iraq conflict and they call for a cease-fire so as to restore a fair, lasting peace in the region. In the communique, the two presidents reiterated their willingness to continue working for the maintenance of world peace based on mutual respect for state sovereignty and independence, freedom and justice. The two presidents reaffirmed their support to the South-west African People's Organization and expressed their appreciation of the efforts made by the members of the committee of the Organization of African Unity for the restoration of peace and a reconciliation in Chad. They also expressed their willingness to help settle the conflict by peaceful means. [Text] (OW11908 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 1 NOV 80)

U.S., USSR NEUTRALITY—Baghdad, November 1 (XINHUA)—Iraqi Foreign Minister Sa'dun Hammadi declared today that his country would be "very pleased if the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries adopt a really neutral attitude" towards the Iraqi-Iranian conflict. He told the National Assembly that the United States could not be considered truly neutral if it sent Iran arms "under any guise." Hammadi said Iraq was "defending its national sovereignty and independence." The foreign minister pointed out that Iraq wanted to build a kind of stability and equality in relations with Iran without any intention of expansion or domination. [Text] (OW020776 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 2 NOV 80)

PAKISTAN AIR EXERCISE—Islamabad, October 31 (XINHUA)—A major operational exercise of the Pakistan Air Force code-named "Jetstream 1980" started today. The 10-day nation-wide exercise, in which various types of aircraft as well as air and ground defence elements are participating, is designed to test operational concepts and to assess the preparedness of the Pakistan Air Force for its assigned tasks. In his order issued on the commencement of the exercise, the chief of the air staff, Air Chief Marshal Mahmud Ahmad Anwar Shamin, reminded air force personnel that vigilance and operational preparedness were the key to effective defence of the country. Observers here believed that the current military exercise has special significance after the repeated attacks on Pakistan territory by Afghan helicopter gunships. [Text] (OW311722 Beijing XINHUA in English 1439 GMT 31 OCT 80)



SOVIET OFFENSIVE IN AFGHANISTAN--Islamabad, November 1 (XINHUA)--The foreign troops in Afghanistan have been seen moving towards the borders with Pakistan and Iran to launch a pre-winter offensive against the Afghan freedom-fighters, said a report in the paper THE MUSLIM today quoting an eye-witness. The witness, who visited north Waziristan, the Pak-Afghan border area and crossed over the border recently, said that the situation prevailing in Afghanistan was likely to force the Kabul regime to seal off its borders with the neighbouring countries. The source said that the Kabul authorities would also attempt to prevent the Afghan refugees and other people from crossing the border into Pakistan and Iran. The Kabul government was very unhappy with the Zardan tribesmen of the Paktia Province, where Afghan Minister of Tribal Affairs Fayz Mohammad and his two companions were assassinated by the Afghan freedom fighters last month. The government is reported to have asked the Zardan tribe to hand over the murderers. According to the source, the tribesmen have rejected the order and are continuing their struggle against the Afghan government. The source added that the refugees, mostly belonging to the Zardan tribe, have become main target of government gunship assaults because the tribesmen have been supporting the cause of the freedom fighters. [Text] [OW011300 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 1 Nov 80]

AFGHANS ABROAD REFUSE RETURNING--Beijing, November 1 (XINHUA)--The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan is so disgusting to the Afghan people that many of them who had the chance to go abroad were reluctant to return to the country. An AP dispatch from New Delhi quoted a Western diplomatic source in that city as saying yesterday that some of the hundreds of Afghan pilgrims who went to Mecca last month have asked the Saudi Arabian Government for permission to remain in that country. Several of those who had expressed reluctance to return home were reportedly Afghan officials, the same source said. The Afghans had traveled to Mecca, the holiest city of the Islamic world, during the annual period of pilgrimage. The diplomat also quoted a "qualified Western source" as saying that about two-thirds of the 1,500 doctors in Afghanistan three years ago have fled the country, and about half of the remaining 500 doctors are serving in the Afghan army, the AP report said. A Khalqi official working in the printing department of the Education Ministry in Kabul was taken to a police station by the secret police recently for questioning about a pamphlet protesting the presence of the estimated 85,000 Soviet troops in the country since late last December. The report said several of the official's colleagues went to the station and secured his release. However, the group issued a statement later claiming that although they would remain in their jobs, they would continue to protest against the presence of Soviet troops in their country. [Text] [OW011210 Beijing XINHUA in English 1203 GMT 1 Nov 80]

BANI-SADR APPEALS--Tehran, October 29 (XINHUA)--President of Iran Bani-Sadr in a letter called on countries of the non-aligned movement to condemn the Iraqi aggression on Iran, according to the TEHRAN TIMES today. Bani-Sadr in his letter said that he was making the appeal in consonance with the spirit of the non-aligned movement which respects the integrity and sovereignty of an individual nation and its affirmations of neutrality and impartiality in judging conflicts of this nature. [Text] [OW291530 Beijing XINHUA in English 1516 GMT 29 Oct 80]

EGYPTIAN-SOMALI MILITARY AGREEMENT--Cairo, November 3 (XINHUA)--An agreement to increase military cooperation was signed between Egypt and Somalia, Somali Chief of State of the Armed Forces Omar Haj Mohamed announced here yesterday, according to the Egyptian paper AL-AHRAM. Omar Haj Mohamed made the announcement at the end of a ten-day visit to Egypt. He said that he had successful talks with Egyptian Minister of Defence Ahmad Badawi during his visit. The Somali chief of staff emphasized that policies adopted by Egypt affect Somalia for political, geographic and cultural reasons. Defending the need for the present state of emergency in Somalia, he said that it is necessary in order to fully prepare the country against Ethiopian raids. However, he went on to affirm that Somalia is committed and ready to resolve the conflict with Ethiopia through peaceful means. [Text] [OW031516 Beijing XINHUA in English 1502 GMT 3 Nov 80]

SOVIET AGGRESSION BUREAU--Beijing, October 29 (XINHUA)--The Soviet troops must withdraw immediately and restore sovereignty to the Afghan people, declares a reader's letter in today's NATIONAL HERALD. The letter says: "The Russians have committed wanton aggression against Afghanistan and they are trying to justify it by all means. Karmal is their principal stooge and he enjoys no popular support. It is no argument that one needs foreign troops to maintain law and order in one's own country--this is only Russian propaganda." The letter points out: "The Russians are also great enemies of Islam and of religion generally. Now they are trying to take full advantage of the war between Iran and Iraq to consolidate their position in Afghanistan. They think the world will not pay any more attention to their aggression and the continuing atrocities which amount to genocide against the poor and defenceless people of Afghanistan." "It is a pity that the people and government of India have not unequivocally condemned the Soviet action, giving rise to the impression among sections of the Afghan people that we are indifferent to their plight. They are facing the greatest challenge to their freedom and we in India who have a record of support to other countries fighting for independence must not sit still," the letter says. [Text] [OW291355 Beijing XINHUA in English 1235 GMT 29 Oct 80]

PALESTINIANS, U.S. MILITARY FACILITIES--Cairo, 3 Nov (XINHUA)--Mustafa Khalil, vice-president of the Egyptian National Democratic Party for Foreign Affairs, said today that the Palestinians are part of the Arab nation and have their own identity of which they should not be stripped, MENA reports. In an interview with the paper ASH-SHARK AL-AWSAT published in Paris, Khalil declared that peace in the Middle East will not be a comprehensive and lasting one unless it does justice to all the parties concerned. He explained his country's views concerning the issue of Jerusalem, saying that Israel's annexation of the city is null and void and unacceptable as it violates the Geneva conventions prohibiting the acquisition of land by force. He went on to say that the issue, as agreed at Camp David, is subject to negotiation. But this does not mean that Egypt accepts Israel's claim that East Jerusalem can be ceded to it. On Egypt's agreement to give the U.S. military facilities, Khalil said that the facilities, which are not military bases, are temporary arrangements governed and brought about by the circumstances and are under the sovereignty of Egypt. "These facilities are not anti-Soviet positions," he said. [Text] [OW040716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 4 Nov 80]

FRANCE, SAUDI ARABIA SECURITY AGREEMENT--Beijing, November 4 (XINHUA)--Saudi Arabia and France signed an agreement on November 2 for cooperation under which France will help train members of the Saudi security services and set up a center in Saudi Arabia for the study of the French language, according to reports from Riyadh. France will also furnish that Gulf country with equipment for coastal defence. The agreement was signed by Saudi Interior Minister Nayif Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz and visiting French Interior Minister Christian Bonnet. France recently concluded a nearly three billion U.S. dollar arms deal with the world's largest oil-exporting country. The deal described by French papers as "the deal of the century," involves the purchase of naval arms and equipment. [Text] [OW041919 Beijing XINHUA in English 1858 GMT 4 Nov 80]

USSR INVASION SCORED--Ankara, October 27 (XINHUA)--The Turkish paper SON HAVADIS points out in a commentary today that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the lesson drawn from the incident should never be forgotten. The commentary entitled "Afghanistan Is Forgotten" says, "The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is aimed at driving southward to the Indian Ocean via Afghanistan. Now the Russians are only 300 kilometers away from the Indian Ocean." It adds that in the past few years, the Russians entered Afghanistan under the cover of giving technical aid. They built roads there, which enabled their tanks and armoured vehicles to roll into Afghanistan easily and turned it into part of the Soviet Union. Today, the commentary says, the Soviet Union is carrying out the power politics as Hitler once did. "The Turkish people," the commentary says in conclusion, "are well aware of what the Soviet Union has done. Therefore, Turkey must make itself powerful as soon as possible." [Text] [OW281518 Beijing XINHUA in English 1508 GMT 28 Oct 80]

WALDHEIM ON IRAN-IRAQ--United Nations, October 28 (XINHUA)--U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim expressed hope once again today that the Iran-Iraq conflict "may soon be brought to an end" through the efforts of the Security Council. In a personal appeal, the secretary-general "urges in the strongest terms, in accordance with established humanitarian law, that the utmost care be exercised in distinguishing between non-military and military objectives and between the civilian population and combatants to assure that civilians shall enjoy general protection against the dangers arising from military operations." Meanwhile, in a letter addressed to Waldheim yesterday, Iraqi Minister S. Hammadi declared that "no partial or total withdrawal should be practically contemplated" unless it is supported by the achievement of "the recognition by Iran of our sovereignty and rights" and "its reaffirmation of the principle of the inadmissibility of her acquisition by force of Iraqi territories and those of neighbouring Arab states in the Arab Gulf"; and of "practical arrangements" that guarantee the withdrawal. He also declared, "There is no longer any border agreement which delimits the frontiers between the two countries with the exception of the protocol for the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontiers signed in 1913." [Text] [OW290130 Beijing XINHUA in English 0109 GMT 29 Oct 80]



IRAQI CEASE-FIRE OFFER--Baghdad, October 26 (XINHUA)--Iraqi President Saddam Husayn reiterated Iraq's readiness for a cease-fire and negotiations to solve the problems with Iran peacefully, the press here reported today. He made the statement yesterday in his talks with the visiting special envoy of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The settlement of the disputes should guarantee Iraq's sovereignty, independence and its legal rights to its territory and waters, he said. [Text] [OW261714 Beijing XINHUA in English 1644 GMT 26 Oct 80]

ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING--Amman, October 26 (XINHUA)--The seven-member committee of Arab foreign ministers began meeting here this evening. The committee was formed and entrusted by the July Arab foreign ministers' conference to prepare a "pan-Arab political strategy" for the forthcoming period, which will be presented to the 11th Arab Summit scheduled for November 25-27 in Amman. The meeting was attended by foreign ministers from Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, as well as by PLO's political department director and Arab League secretary general. Speaking at the opening meeting, chairman of the committee and Jordan's foreign minister Marwan al-Qasbi said: "There should be no differences among our Arab countries except the differences in terms of time and means in gaining our goals, because any difference among our ranks will pose a threat to Arab nation." "We must strive to deal with the challenges of disintegrating our ranks and undermining our existence," he added. After the opening ceremony, the meeting proceeded to the closed session. The meeting is expected to last three days. [Text] [OW290132 Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 29 Oct 80]

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION REJECTED--Tehran, October 27 (XINHUA)--Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i announced here yesterday that Iran would not accept the U.N. Security Council's resolution on the Iran-Iraq war, ETTELA'AT reported today. He was talking to a correspondent of this evening newspaper. "Our resolution is being issued at Khaminshahr [Khorramshahr] and signed with the blood of our brothers and sisters," he said. Raja'i denied occupation of Abadan and Khaminshahr by Iraq. "The existence of hand-to-hand fighting in the two cities proved itself that they are not in the enemy's hands," he added. [Text] [OW271858 Beijing XINHUA in English 1851 GMT 27 Oct 80]

PAKISTAN PROTESTS AFGHAN ATTACK--Islamabad, October 28 (XINHUA)--The charge d'affaires of the Afghan Embassy to Pakistan was called today to the foreign office of Pakistan and a strong protest was lodged with him regarding the latest Afghan helicopter attack on Pakistan territory. Six Afghan helicopter gunships attacked a refugee camp and adjoining villages in the north Waziristan agency at three places situated between Miran Shah and Datta Khel in North West Frontier Province on October 24. The charge d'affaires was asked to convey to the authorities in Kabul the protest of the government of Pakistan at this unprovoked and deliberate attack well within Pakistan territory which had caused injuries to three civilians including one child. [Text] [OW281628 Beijing XINHUA in English 1614 GMT 28 Oct 80]

## PARTY AND STATE

### RESPECT, CONCERN FOR PEOPLE SAID NECESSARY IN IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Tan Tao [6223 3325]: "Respect People, Trust People, Show Concern for People"]

[Test] Mao Zedong said in his "On Protracted Warfare": "Many people handle the relations between officers and soldiers and the relations between the army and the people badly. I think that the method is wrong. I always tell them that it is a problem of fundamental attitude (or fundamental purpose). This attitude is to respect the soldiers and respect the people. If they begin with this attitude, then there will be various policies, methods and ways. If they depart from this attitude, the policies, methods and ways will certainly be wrong and the relations between the officers and soldiers and the relations between the army and the people will undoubtedly be handled badly. The three great principles of army political work are: firstly, the unity between officers and soldiers, secondly, the unity between the army and the people and thirdly, the unity to disintegrate the enemy forces. These principles must be carried out effectively and must start from the fundamental attitude of respecting the soldiers, respecting the people and respecting those enemy captives who have already laid down their weapons. Those people who think that it is not a problem of fundamental attitude but is a technical problem have incorrect thinking and should be corrected." Although Comrade Mao Zedong said this during the time of the national-democratic revolution, it does speak of army political work. However, in ideological and political work, it is first necessary to take a correct attitude towards people and respect people and then afterwards we can have correct policies, methods and ways. This basic view still has a guiding significance for us today to do well ideological and political work.

Ideological and political work is work concerning people and is the work of training people. This is general knowledge known by all. However, to understand this general knowledge is one matter but is another matter whether or not they can comprehend the deep significance of this general knowledge, correct their attitudes towards the people and employ correct methods to develop ideological and political work. It goes without saying that people are very complex organisms. Each person has their various attributes: natural attributes, social attributes and in a class society there are also class attributes. Among people there are also various types of relations: biological relations, social relations and in a class society there are also class relations. Within the different attributes and relations of people there are distinctions and connections. Our ideological and political work only goes under the premise that there is comprehensive and unified knowledge of the different attributes and relations of people. Using the attitude of seeking truth from facts and the correct method, then we can attain good results.

In the past the very reason why we achieved unsurpassing successes in our ideological and political work was because we adopted a correct attitude and correct method in dealing with the targets of our work. The ideological and political workers at all time always viewed the targets of their work as class brothers, comrades and friends, respected their honor, in a lively spirit and efforts to forge ahead, and showed great concern for their material and spiritual well-being. There was mutual respect, mutual sympathy and fraternal friendship among the comrades. There was also the sharing of comforts and hardships and feelings of family closeness among all comrades.

Later, however, due to the influence of leftist thought, especially the poison of the ultraleftist line, there appeared a deviation in our views and attitudes towards people. We always considered people as class people and a person's class as his only attribute. We only paid attention to a person's class nature and class relations and overlooked their other attributes and other relations to the point that among the comrades in the party, among teachers and students in the schools and among the masters and apprentices it was always necessary to mention the problem of class relations and it was always necessary to carry out a class analysis of people's words and deeds. Under the guidance of this type of viewpoint, the tradition of respecting people, trusting people and showing concern for people in ideological and political work was discarded and we tried to make activities about it. If someone mentioned respecting people, trusting people and showing concern for people they were then denounced as "lacking a strong sense of class stand" or were labeled as "revisionist's standing for class indifference." Today, we need to restore the prestige of ideological and political work, to eliminate the influence and poison of leftist thought, to correct the ultraleftist line and to radically correct the attitude towards people and towards people, trust people and show concern for people. This will bring about the scientific fulfillment of our socialist ideological and political work.

During the different periods of historical development, relations among people are determined by people's economic relations. In a feudal society, the relations between people are relations of enslavement and dependence. Mao pointed out that the principle of the autocratic system "generally speaking is underestimating people, showing contempt for people and not considering them as people" (see "The Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol. 1, page 411). In a capitalist society, the relations between people are money relations and "cash transactions" and "it transforms individual respect into exchange value" (quoted from "Communist Manifesto"). In a socialist society, after we eliminate the oppressive system, the relations between people should be that between equal, mutually helping and cooperative comrades. This type of relationship is the economic relationship determined after the elimination of the oppressive system, and only after the oppressive system has been eliminated can there be the potential for its full realization. After the oppressive system was abolished in China, besides their class nature and class relations, people's other attributes and relations had gradually become prominent. This type of trend should be pointed out and given full attention by ideological and political workers.

Naturally, there still exists in China the struggle of proletarian ideology and non-proletarian ideology (such as the evil legacy of feudalistic thought, capitalist thought and petty bourgeois thought). The neglecting and discarding of this type of ideological struggle is harmful for the proletariat and the great masses. Therefore, if we accord with the viewpoint formed over the past several years and view this type of ideological struggle as a class struggle between people, this is also incorrect. We must appropriately deal with the differences and relations of these different non-proletariat ideologies and those that are influenced by this type of thought.

We must criticize incorrect thought and yet people must have well intended attitudes and a desire for unity. Only in this way can we adopt a positive ideological struggle and attain new unity on a new foundation.

Marxism has always considered that the masses are the moving force in creating world history and are the practical main body. When we mention the demands of respecting people, trusting people and showing concern for people in ideological and political work, it is the use of this viewpoint as a theoretical basis. It is necessary to criticize them and help them correct their flaws and shortcomings and it is also necessary to first of all respect them, trust them and show concern for them. We cannot injure their moral quality and self respect. People always have self respect, regard for themselves and self confidence. To not respect another person's moral quality, to train them for no reason or to viciously slander them we will then encounter their disdain and dissatisfaction. We have often said that we should transform negative elements into positive elements and actually positive elements exist in these comrades themselves. If we do not see this one point and do not adopt an attitude of respect and trust and show concern towards them, no matter how much ability we have we will not be able to transform and bring out the positiveness of the comrades. Innumerable facts prove that to have others conform to our intentions, our intentions must be correct and for others to be satisfied with our desires, it is necessary that we respect others and trust others.

Some intellectuals and returned overseas Chinese say that: "The greatest worry is that we cannot attain trust." How can this statement not be worthy of our consideration? This is nothing more than saying that the class origins of these comrades are complex, their political histories are complex and their ideological situations are complex. In reality, these views frequently reflect the existing onesidedness in our own mind. We tend to look only at the historical situations of intellectuals and returned overseas Chinese, but not at the real performance of these comrades nor the ardent love for the homeland of these comrades who wholeheartedly contribute their intelligence and wisdom for building and strengthening their socialist homeland. Ideological and political workers must exert themselves to eliminate the influences of ultraleftist thought and ultraleftist lines, constantly, examine themselves, carefully look to see whether or not they have biases and prejudices towards the intellectuals and returned overseas Chinese, widen their field of vision, expand their knowledge and start with correcting the relations between these comrades and themselves.

Marxism always considers that the relationship between the educator and the educated is one of dialectic unity. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Only by speaking for the masses can we educate them and only by being their pupil can we be their teacher." ("Talks At The Yen'an Forum On Art And Literature"). This is a famous saying. It is a commonly existing phenomenon that for some matters the leaders have come to recognition but the masses have still not. But the opposite situation also exists, that the masses have come to recognize some matters when the leaders still have not. When the masses have already recognized it, they should express their opinions. If at this time, the deficient knowledge of the leaders takes the views and opinions of the masses as erroneous opinions and treats them as ideological problems they they will be making the error of subjectivism and bureaucratism. Originally, there was the question of mutual study between the educator and the educated. Looking at it from this angle, it can be seen that respecting people, trusting people and showing concern for the people by the leaders and ideological and political workers is the very least to be done in order to carry out ideological and political work in a scientific manner and on the basis of reality.



In our development of ideological and political work, whether in the form of praising or criticizing, there is one goal, to induce people who have different ideologies, ideals, wishes, feelings and interests to realize the four modernizations so that all of us, inside and outside of the party, will devote wholeheartedly to the four modernizations, pooling our wisdom, efforts and strength. Ideological and political work should take praise as primary which will give the honor of outstanding achievement and high character to those who are praised and also provide a study example for other comrades. Naturally, not carrying out conscientious criticism and letting all those who truly need criticism be also incorrect. For the two forms of praise and criticism, neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. Whether it is praising people or criticizing them both necessitate understanding people. Only if we understand people can we appropriately praise them or criticize and help them. This will cause ideological and political work to be closely linked with reality and enter the bottoms of their hearts. To establish the work of understanding and helping well people and situations is the essential technique of ideological and political work.

Ideological and political work is subordinate to the general goal of building the four modernizations. For the one goal of building the four modernizations, it is necessary to continually satisfy the needs of the daily increasing material life and cultural life of the masses. In accord with this, the showing of concern for the people's vital interests should be reflected in the process of ideological and political work. Many of the ideological problems of people are because their own desires or vital interests cannot be realized and properly resolved. No matter if we view our own vital interests, there is the problem of coordinating the individual, collective and national interests. Some comrades only stress individual interests and do not look at the collective interest and the national interest. Naturally it is necessary to educate these types of comrades, yet we should also show concern for them and present the facts, reason things out and help them. For those comrades who objectively and truly have difficulties, we should show concern for them and make every effort to help them resolve their difficulties. If we do not help them resolve their existing, unresolvable difficulties how can we find fault with these comrades. This type of method is obviously not in accord with the aim of ideological and political work and cannot achieve good results.

The Party Central Committee appeals to us that to successfully carry out the building of the four modernizations, it is necessary to strengthen party leadership, improve party leadership and raise the party's fighting capacity. To do well ideological and political work is an important step toward strengthening and improving party leadership. In view of the many new situations and new problems that appear in building the four modernizations, while restoring the good tradition of ideological and political work it is also necessary to enthusiastically improve and promote it so that this work can be carried out scientifically. Only if we respect people, understand people and show concern for people in specific work and, while educating the masses, pay attention to their study and ideological and political work will we be welcomed to the great masses. The masses will then wholeheartedly praise the ideological and political workers as their own "good teachers and helpful friends" and "close friends."

## PARTY AND STATE

### HONG KONG PAPER REPORTS 'GANG OF FOUR' TRIAL TO BE FILMED

HK291015 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 29 Oct 80 p 9

[Text] The public trial of the "gang of four" will be filmed and shown in cinemas throughout the country at a later date, according to novelist and movie playwright Chen Anyun.

Mr Chen said this at a recent seminar at the Grantham Training College.

The film may also be shown in Hong Kong in future, he said.

Mr Chen (66) and another prominent Chinese author, Mr Qin Mu, are in Hong Kong for 2 weeks during which they will be engaged in a series of cultural activities here.

In his lecture to 500 young people, Mr Chen said the cultural circles in China were watching the trial closely as three of the people, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, had been involved in cultural matters for a long time and many in the cultural circles were persecuted during the cultural revolution.

Mr Qin (61) presented a rosy picture of the current cultural field on the mainland. Not only are the older cultural workers such as Mao Dun, Bujin and Ye Shentao diligently engaged in their work, but younger authors and novelists are being groomed to take up the mantle of the older people.

Today's writers are no longer the physically weak ones as were so often the case in the past. Many of them are athletes and fighters.

However, there are still inadequacies, Mr Qin said. There is a heavy demand for the printed word but because of shortage of paper the quest of most readers could still not be met.

At present, it was estimated that the billion people spend about one yuan (about HK\$3) per head a year on books.

The problems facing today's writers include the need for further development of socialist democracy and limited time for writing because many of the writers have concurrent tasks.

Mr Qin also disclosed that the project of compiling the complete works of Lu Xun was proceeding smoothly and the new set, which would also include more than 1,000 pieces of correspondence, would be published next year, the 100th anniversary of the author's birth.

## PARTY AND STATE

### POSITION OF EUNUCHS IN MING DYNASTY

Lanzhou GANSU XUEBAO (ZHIXUE SHEHUIKEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL OF GANSU TEACHERS' UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHY and SOCIAL SCIENCES Edition)] in Chinese No 1 10 Jan 80 pp 60-71

[Article by Guo Houan (6753 0624 1344): "Flunkys Acting Tyrannically by Virtue of Imperial Power--on the Eunuchs in the Ming Dynasty"]

[Excerpts] The eunuchs occupied an important position on the political stage all throughout the Ming dynasty, starting with the Yong-le reign and until the fall of the dynasty, enjoying at all times the favor and tolerant indulgence of the emperors. The eunuchs stretched their evil claws into every domain; they established in particular a secret-police terror over the entire populace. Although they did strengthen the ultra-autocratic monarchy, their activities in the end had disastrous consequences in political, economic and military respects.

Even though the Ming eunuchs attained dazzling heights of power, they still remained nothing but slaves to carry out wanton cruelties using and relying on the emperors' power and behaving as if they were the emperor's falcons and hounds let loose to pounce on the people. They on their part did not and also could not pose any threat to the imperial power. This peculiar phenomenon that the Ming eunuchs held great power but remained merely cringing slaves of the emperors was determined by the nature of the then prevailing ultra-autocratic monarchical system.

To have the Ming eunuchs intrude on all politics was an important organic part of that ultra-autocratic monarchical system. This must not be ignored when enquiring into the system of power centralization in the highly developed autocracy of the Ming dynasty.

1. In 1368 Zhu Yuanzhang ascended the throne of the great Ming empire. This "commoner from south of the Huai River" in all his proud self-contentment could not help feeling increasing anxiety and fear at the thought of how to uphold the rule of the landlords and how to consolidate for all generations to come the great unification achieved by the house of Zhu.

History is a mirror, and Zhu Yuanzhang was one who paid great attention to summing up historical experiences. He saw as one of the important reasons for the fall of the Han and Tang dynasties the disastrous intrusion into politics of the female branches of the emperor's family, the rise to power of the eunuchs and the establishment of commanderies in the outlying districts. To preserve his regime in



prolonged peace and not to fall into the same pitfalls as the Han and Tang, Zhu Yuanzhang adopted a series of preventive measures. As a result, throughout the Ming era "all palace cabal had been eliminated" and at no time did any empress attend court and participate in government. Relatives of the wives' and mothers' sides were "without the least power." As to the commanderies in the outlying districts, they also never became so powerful as to appear like "tails too large to be wagged," or start wars or usurp territory by the commanders themselves.

However, the intrusion of eunuchs into politics took a development that Zhu Yuanzhang had not foreseen. Throughout the Ming era the power of the eunuchs had its ups and downs but in summary they became more and more arrogant with increasingly serious consequences.

Of course, this cannot be blamed on any ineffectiveness of Zhu Yuanzhang's measures to prevent eunuch intrusion into politics. He himself was clearly aware that "if the palace eunuchs are day and night at the emperor's side, accompanying him everywhere with a constant cheerfulness, bringing him news that they had espied, these small favors and confidentialities were sufficient to captivate the ruler's mind. To show favoritism and exercise indulgence was in the basic nature of the system. Once the emperor was ensnared and deluded and showed no awakening from the illusion, the eunuchs would use the imperial might and prestige to usurp power and to interfere in political affairs. If continued over a lengthy period, such usurpation of power cannot be restrained and curbed anymore, and this resulted in much confusion and disturbance with regard to the bureaucratic hierarchy."<sup>1</sup> The emperor, therefore, decreed that eunuchs may only perform sprinkling and sweeping work, that they should remain illiterate and not to be used as confidential informants. They were strictly forbidden to take part in government, to take charge of military affairs or to have communications with officers of state. He went even so far as to have an order cast in iron and placed over the gate which proclaimed: "Eunuchs must not interfere in government affairs. Those who disobey this order will be beheaded."<sup>2</sup> In the 10th year of the Hong-wu reign "a eunuch who had served in the inner court for a long time disgressed on court affairs. He was immediately returned to his native place and disqualified for life."<sup>3</sup> We see from these instances that Zhu Yuanzhang took a very firm stand in the matter of keeping eunuchs out of government.

However, it evolved as a natural consequence of the ultra-autocratic Ming rule that the eunuchs did indeed become involved in politics. Regardless of whether the rulers were "astute" or "obtuse," or whether they realized the consequences of eunuch meddling in politics, they all came to use and even to rely on the eunuchs to a greater or smaller degree to help them rule the country. Even Zhu Yuanzhang could not avoid it although he bitterly hated and abhorred eunuch meddling in politics. For example, in the 8th year of the Hong-wu reign he appointed a chamberlain to the office in charge of procuring horses at Hezhou. In the 10th moon of the 11th year the eunuch Wu Cheng was ordered to a border defense post to be in command of overall strategy at the Yuangzhongming military camp. In the 9th moon of the 19th year, the envoys Liu Min and Tang Jing were accompanied by eunuchs on their embassies to Indochina and other countries. Furthermore, the eunuchs were also appointed as councillors. It is, therefore, already in the Hong-wu reign that precedent was established for eunuchs to enter politics, so that for all practical purposes the ban on such activities had already been lifted at that time.

In the Yong-le reign, the fortune of the eunuchs underwent another change for the reason that Zhu Di had received considerable help from the eunuchs when he usurped the throne and became Emperor Cheng-zu. After the "Battle of Pacification" Emperor Jian-wen's fate was unknown and many rumors sprang up, which had Zhu Di guessing and in suspense. More importantly, many meritorious old ministers vigorously opposed Zhu Di for the way he had usurped the throne, which made Zhu Di suspicious of their loyalty. All these were forceful reasons that drove Zhu Di to favor the eunuchs. They were charged with such duties as special missions, acting as purchasing agents, as superintendents of maritime trade, employed in the military directorate, as travelling inspectors and pacification commissioners. In addition, the emperor established the Eastern Depot, a secret-service organization, to let "the eunuchs torture and spy out things that would stop the gaps in the net of Heaven [which was supposed to catch criminals]" and "trusting the eunuchs to elicit the truth and get criminals into prison."

From then on the power of the eunuchs increased incessantly and they never ceased to occupy important positions on the political stage. There was no exception to this even during the reign of so-called "astute" and "enlightened" rulers, or at times when according to historical records the eunuchs had become somewhat withdrawn from view. For instance:

In the Xuan-cong reign, a short time after Zhu Zhanji had ascended the throne, a Palace School was established and Hanlin compilers and grand secretaries were ordered to teach young eunuchs, to educate them and render them qualified for important missions. He granted his trusted follower and powerful senior eunuch Jin Ying a patent insuring his immunity from the death sentence, "with effusive terminology and much praise." The eunuchs Tan Shun, Wang An, Wang Jin, Xing An and others were on several occasions accompanying military commanders on campaigns. After Wang Jin returned from the campaign against Gao Yu, Prince of Han, Wang participated in military affairs in all directions. In addition to large monetary rewards, the emperor presented Wang with silver mementoes inscribed, "Loyal and Faithful," "Noble Person of the Golden Marten," (the marten tail being a customary adornment of eunuch attire), "Loyal Conscientious and Man of Great Exertions" and "Pure in Mind and Motive." Wang was also given two palace girls as maids and a government position for his adopted son.<sup>4</sup> This will give some idea to what extent the eunuchs enjoyed imperial favors.

In the Hong-zhi years of Emperor Xiao-zong, the eunuch Jiang Zong "with humble ability met imperial appreciation" and "held the office of Grand Commandant of Nanjing." He was overbearing, licentious and without regard for law. In a case involving some alluvial land over 100 people became affected. The case dragged on for many years. He was retained in office and the accusations declared unfounded.<sup>5</sup> Li Guang "ensnared the emperor with amulets and prayers at the temples and then engaged in villany and corrupt practices. He fabricated edicts conferring ranks and appointing officials like writing fairy tales. He took bribes from every source and appropriated to himself private land of peasants on the imperial domains. He also monopolized the salt trade and from this source embezzled huge sums."<sup>6</sup> A eunuch who in this way "acted overbearing, licentious and without regard for law" in the end was able to "exploit the foibles of the officials" and

chase away a large number of officials from their jobs. It was only due to the imperial favor that Li Guang's power could "subvert the metropolitan and provincial officials," and even induce the highest officials to proffer bribes to ensure his friendship. This shows us to what extent eunuch power had inflated and that their interferences in government by that time had been serious and could no more be turned back.

Because the eunuchs of the Ming dynasty constantly enjoyed the favor of the emperors, they could acquire extremely wide powers. Their powers mainly included approval of memorials, supervision of the Eastern Depot, control of state prisons, investigation of prisoners together with the three highest judicial officers, superintending army affairs, officiating as grand defenders, grand commandants, travelling inspectors, envoys, be in charge of maritime trade, as mining and tax superintendents, procurement officers, superintendents of public works and equipment, of textile manufacture, etc. As a result of such extensive powers, the eunuchs managed to have the directorate of ceremonial affairs become an organ over and on top of the grand secretariat, because "documents from the grand secretariat had to be approved by the directorate of palace servants, which was in the hands of the eunuchs. In the end the laws of the imperial court, the employment and retirement of worthy men and high officials became all affairs in the hands of the eunuchs, handled by them in a topsy-turvy manner and causing utter confusion. Holders of sinecures claimed they had no time to carry out the imperial will and remained blind to the situation doing nothing about it."<sup>7</sup> The three highest judicial officers were only a sham. All power over life and death rested with the Eastern Depot and the imperial bodyguard. As for instance Xu Gui, a police commissioner of the board of punishments, memorialized in the 12th moon of the 9th year of Hong-zhi: "I have served under the Board for 3 years. Whenever there was a judicial investigation of banditry it was in the hands of the Eastern Depot and it was said that the officer in charge either vented his hate or received bribes. Even if the truth had leaked out, who would dare take steps on his own to attempt the change of even one single word!"<sup>8</sup> The agents of the superintendent of military affairs and of the grand defender not only impeded command of the army on all occasions but even turned the army completely into a tool for their own ends. Apart from that, the special agents of the Eastern Depot, of course, instilled in the people a fear as of tigers and to the extent of almost not daring to take a breath. Even an ordinary eunuch sent on an errand "ranking so high by imperial grace and mouthing the imperial orders" was, of course, regarded by the people as representing the emperor.

If requests were made to the eunuchs, they were able and apt to respond, but even if no requests were made, they had to be flattered and fawned upon in every way. The people feared only one thing that was to offend them. The eunuchs on their part relied on the "might and prestige of the emperor," to abuse their power tyrannically and to act as they pleased. To sum up: since the eunuchs has brought immense power in politics, military affairs, criminal justice, economics, etc. into their hands, it was unavoidable that they strove to place themselves above the entire bureaucracy to become the most powerful group directly under the emperor.

Allow us to cite some instances to show to what extent eunuch power had expanded:

After the death of the Empress Zhang, Wang Zhen gradually became unrestrained in his power, "whoever aroused his ire was accused of a crime." At that time Emperor Ying-zong "greatly admired him, graciously called him 'my senior,' gave him high official recognition and allowed him increasingly greater powers. The princes called him 'venerable elder.' Those fearful of trouble hastened to get on good terms with him to evade execution. Bribes and presents piled up high."<sup>9</sup> In the Xian-zong reign, Wang Zhi was in charge of the Western Depot "with ultimate powers over metropolitan and provincial officialdom. To join up with him meant honor and prosperity, to arouse his ire meant banishment to the border areas. When the empire prospered, high officials and influential gentry hastened to his door. Wherever he went on his tours of inspection, the metropolitan censors in full armor and military array would prostrate themselves at the sight of the dust raised by his carriage and rise only after he had passed. When Wang would have arrived at his hostelry, they would change their attire and kotow. The superintendent of the region would come forth half kneeling like a servant."<sup>10</sup> At that time, people would only recognize the power of the Western Depot and take no notice of the court; they only feared Wang Zhi but took no note of the emperor. In the Wu-zong reign there was Liu Jin. "He had monopolized all power in the empire, enjoying great might and prestige and indulging in passions at will.... From princes and noblemen down, none dared aspire to equal ceremonial rank. People vied with each other to pay their respects to Liu, when they would kneel and make obeisance. Memorials were first made out in red and first handed to Liu, therefore, called red copies, and then transmitted to the competent government office in white, called white copies, all in the name of Director Liu Jin and none other."<sup>11</sup> When Wei Zhongxian was at the height of his arrogance in his position of power, "the people throughout the country hardly dared breathe so downcast and frustrated was everybody." "All power at the court and throughout the country was in Wei Zhongxian's hands. From the six departments and the grand secretariat to the viceroys and governors, all were his sworn followers. Everybody sought eagerly for an opportunity to flatter him. Many high officials, such as Yan Mingtai, praised his virtue and erected temples honoring his image. None wanted to stay behind in these things, it had become a popular fashion. All memorials, whether large or small, sang the praises of Wei Zhongxian. On his several outings per year, the highest officials would crowd the roads to pay their respect in obeisances and call out: "Nine thousand years to you!", while Wei hardly deigned to look at them."<sup>12</sup> In his impeachment of Wei Zhongxian, Yang Lian stated that all officials, high and low, only took note of Wei Zhongxian and not of the emperor. "Wei Zhongxian has arrogated to himself all matters, large and small, within the palace and in all government offices. On the other hand, the emperor exists only in name, Wei Zhongxian is the real substance."

The eunuchs of the Ming era were of a very similar nature as those in the Han and Tang "as far as awe-inspiring power and devastating destructiveness are concerned. However, history will not simply repeat itself. Following the constantly increasing strength of the feudal and autocratic centralization of power, the position of the eunuchs began to change, turning them gradually into tools of the tyrannical government of the rulers. In the chapter on eunuchs in the History of the Song Dynasty it is said: "During the Song dynasty the treatment of the eunuchs was very strict." "Since at certain times the ruler was very young, the empress-dowager took charge of the government in three reigns. In past generations would



this not have been like harvest time for the machinations of the eunuchs! The laws of our forbears were strict and the power of the prime minister was strong. Any treacherous or wicked eunuch would have been removed in a very short time. The high officers of state were farsighted enough to destroy any evil before it became apparent." In the Ming era, the eunuchs, under the ultra-autocratic tyranny of the rulers, did not and, in fact, could not organize any threat or pressure on the monarchical power. They only could be slaves and servile underlings of the emperor. All their awe-inspiring power was only a manifestation of the much inflated imperial power. Compared with Han and Tang times, the situation of the eunuchs in Ming times, therefore, unavoidably, showed certain peculiarities.

The social position of the Ming eunuchs was actually very low. This is demonstrated by the contempt shown by many officials and the officers of state. Even the emperor who bestowed so many favors on them, looked on them as his slaves. Throughout the Ming dynasty, no eunuch was ever granted the title of nobility, a salary-based income or rank as a government official. The only honors they could obtain consisted in rewards for meritorious service, plaques for their ancestral temples and sacrifices. When Wang Zhen was at the height of his power, Shen Gu, junior vice president of the Board of Revenue on military duty in Yunnan, respectfully submitted: "The inner palace officials who protect the imperial person have greatly promoted the imperial well-being and performed their duties with outstanding merit. It has been requested that honors be bestowed on them by imperial edict, as also on their families, according to the precedent in the case of foreign governors. This is to be disallowed." As we see, Emperor Ying-cong thought these slaves were not qualified to enjoy such honors. This is radically different from the situation in the Han and Tang dynasties. There are many instances when eunuchs were enobled by the Han emperors, and cases in the Tang dynasty are even more conspicuous. For instance, Yang Sixu, "who for meritorious military services was granted the title 'grand commander, succour of the country,' also grand commander of cavalry and enobled as Duke of Guo." In the early period of the Tian-bao reign he was raised to 'illustrious and outstanding grand commander' and 'junior guardian of the gate,' and further enobled to Duke of Bohai. In the 7th year he was made 'grand commander of cavalry.' When the An Lushan and Shi Siming rebellion broke out, he followed Emperor Xuan-zong in his flight to Sichuan and was given the further title of Duke of Qi. After return to the capital, he was made a noble with the title Kai-fu-yi-tong-san-si and enobled to Duke of Cheng, furthermore, granted a fief of 500 households and promoted to president of the board of war. When Emperor Dai-zong ascended the throne, he honored Li with the title 'honorable father,' promoted him to minister of works and granted him a fief of 800 households. All this clearly shows how much more elevated the social status of eunuchs was under the Han and Tang as compared with the situation in the Ming dynasty.

No matter to what heights of power the eunuchs rose in the Ming era, they always remained to be driven on by the scoldings of their boss and hard put to win the emperor's favors, as otherwise they may take a fall from the pinnacle of power that would smash every bone in their body. However, in the Han and Tang dynasties (especially in their later years) the eunuchs not only had might and prestige and freedom to act as they pleased but could also at will replace one emperor with another. The emperor was no more master of his own destiny but completely at the mercy of the eunuchs.

In summing up the above we may say that the eunuchs of the Ming dynasty on the one hand had extensive powers under the favoritism of the emperor, but on the other hand never rose beyond the status of faithful slaves of the emperor, so-to-say the evil "falcons and dogs" that were let loose to pounce on the people. This is the peculiar situation of the eunuchs in the Ming dynasty.

Zhu Di, who became Emperor Cheng-zu, acquired the throne in an act of usurpation and for this reason was opposed by many civil and military officials who had served under Emperor Jian-wen. This situation added complexity and intensity to the existing contradictions. Against these opposing elements Zhu Di employed unprecedented cruel punishments to wipe them out. "Apart from executing the person himself, he had his maternal relatives to the ninth degree arrested too, and if there had been the slightest communication he had their maternal relatives, teachers and friends falsely accused of plotting rebellion, such measures extended to the tenth degree of relationship and whole villages were laid waste."<sup>13</sup> In those days an atmosphere of terror prevailed, just as Tan Qian has stated it: "In the beginning of the drive to eliminate the opposition it was as if falcons and hawks were let loose on the people, men were exiled for military duty at the frontiers or executed, families trembled and whole households were terrified. Old ministers of state and retired officials were beset with fear and misgivings, frustrated and despairing, with no hiding place to escape to."<sup>14</sup> Through one term of wanton massacres the centralized power of the ultra-autocratic system was further advanced and the relationship between ruler and ministers was firmly established as one of master and slaves.

The constant fear of usurpation of power by the ministers of state, of their forming cliques for rebellion, the constant fear of bureaucrats and high officials engaging in conspiratorial activities to overthrow their emperor's rule, this deep suspicion and fear of ministers and officials persisted in all the emperors following the Hong-wu and Yong-le reigns. For instance, in the Chong-zhen reign there were 54 grand secretaries, changes were frequent, they just came and went, one after the other, as in a merry-go-round. Zha Jizuo said: Emperor Zhuang-liè never placed confidence in others. He would punish the slightest misuse of knowledge the way he had dealt with the rebellious Wei. In the end all ministers were unable to save themselves, even worthy ones would rather go into hiding. He persisted in taking eunuchs into his service and discouraged talented people so that they sought retirement."<sup>15</sup> The attitude of Ming Emperor Si-zong towards his ministers and his officials basically reflects the relationship of rulers to ministers in the Ming dynasty.

The distrust of his ministers and high officials naturally made the emperor rely on his so-called trusted followers and to use them to strictly supervise all ministers and officials. As Tan Qian expressed it: "The ruler inside the seclusion of his palace always suspected that his officials and people hated and cursed him and he suspected their mischievous deceit and lawlessness. He deplored having no device to control them. He had officials thoroughly investigate and spread a dense net of spies, not less than making a magic mirror."<sup>16</sup> Zhu Yuanzhang mainly used the officers of the imperial bodyguard, occasionally also dispatching eunuchs. Zhu Di, apart from planting spies among his bodyguard, preferably used eunuchs, as for instance in the 8th year of Yong-le reign "the emperor ordered eunuch Ma Jing to go on an inspection tour of Gansu. If anything was found amiss in the place of the Marquis of Xining and of Song Hu, Ma was to do some secret

consultations and arrangements and to report back." The Marquis of Xining was a meritorious minister of the "Pacification" period and Song Hu was Zhu Di's son-in-law, but the emperor would still insist on "placing all his trust in a eunuch."<sup>17</sup> This is again evidence of how eunuchs were favored. In the 18th year of the Yong-le reign the Eastern Depot was established, place of the despot's assassins and scoundrels. From then on the imperial bodyguard and the Eastern Depot (also the Western Depot and the Palace Depot which came into being later) cooperated fully in nefarious activities. They constituted throughout the entire Ming era the spy organization and sinister prisons that were used to oppress the officials and people, acting under the direct control of the emperor.

The rise to political eminence of the eunuchs is inseparably bound up with the absurd behavior and decadence of the emperors. The senior eunuch of the Tang dynasty by the name of Chou Shiliang on retirement due to old age told his colleagues: "We must not have the emperor have leisure. In leisure he will read books, see scholars and ministers, accept remonstrances, deepen his knowledge, have concern for the future, reduce playfulness and travel. For us eunuchs that would mean few favors and little power. My advice to you is: amass riches, many good horses, amuse him with ball games, hunting, music and women. With wasteful extravagance, pleasures without end, he will forget classics and arts, withdraw from outside affairs and every plan and scheme will be ours. Favors and power, where would you then wait it to go?"<sup>18</sup> These tricks, one may say, have always been used by eunuchs throughout history, and that does not exclude the Ming eunuchs.

The eunuchs not only profitted from the absurd behavior of the emperors to arrogate the imperial powers to themselves, but utilized also the ingratiating approaches of the bureaucracy and high officials to consolidate and develop their power. In the Ming era there have been a great number of officials and officers of state who with flattery and communications tried to ingratiate themselves with the eunuchs. The reason was that in the renewed struggle for distribution of wealth and power, power was of utmost significance as far as the landlords of the numerous clans and their political representatives were concerned. The measure of power determined the share of property. With sufficient power, things could be acquired by force or trickery and one's wealth could be expanded to the utmost. Otherwise, one could possibly suffer disgrace and ruin and lose one's entire family fortune. This problem is clearly evident in the changes of fame and fortune of such men as Yan Song and Zhang Juzheng. How was one to consolidate one's own power and promote its continuous growth? Under an ultra-autocratic rule, apart from ingratiating oneself with all kinds of tricks with the emperor himself, there was only the other henchmen and loyal slaves--the eunuchs. Speaking of conditions in the Ming dynasty, the latter method was evidently the more important one. In the 8th year of Tian-shun, Wang Hui, a supervising censor of the two capitals, and others, memorialized the Emperor Ying-cong: "The eunuchs attend to your Majesty day and night, and some high civil and military officials without sense of honor or shame are associating with them, sending them gifts of all kinds of valuables. Then those subservient, slavish creatures will praise the officials whenever they are near you day and night. Then there are upright and honest men without clandestine connections whom the eunuchs consider unworthy and day and night discredit to you... These daily insinuations will unavoidably cause suspicions to arise. Those that have been praised unexpectedly advance to high positions, those that have been discredited are forever stuck in lowly positions."<sup>19</sup> This shows that anyone who wanted to advance in his career and occupy a dominant position in the struggle for power and profit was compelled to fawn upon and ingratiate himself with the



eunuchs. In this way the eunuchs gained an opportunity to add as members of their clique those shameless creatures whose mind was only on advancing in their careers as officials and on enriching themselves, which in turn again increased the power of the eunuchs. It is just as we may read in the chapter on eunuchs in the History of the Ming Dynasty:

"The eunuchs were a calamity of serious consequences in the Ming dynasty. But if the various parties would not have associated themselves with them, helped them increase their power, the calamity would not have been so severe... When Liu Jin usurped power, Jiao Fang as head minister associated himself with him, then all ministers vied with each other to flatter Liu, and the power of the Office of Protocol Affairs ranked higher than the grand secretariat. Toward the end of the Sheng-tsung reign, many political groups formed based on wild talk. Mutual antagonism and factionary fighting became an insoluble entanglement. The eunuchs took advantage of the disorder and usurped power. They were crafty and cruel and full of flattery; they were inside the imperial harem, they carried out excessive punishments and painful persecutions to satisfy their hate of the righteous and proper. They fill the prisons with gentry and good people died at their cutting and maiming. Emperor Zhuang-chie set right the case of treachery by handing the affair over to grand secretary Wei Guang and others. He sighed regretfully: "Wei Zhongxian was only one person. All officials outside the palace supported him, only thus could it happen, no punishment is enough for such crimes!" The intrusion of eunuchs in government, furthermore, added to the corruption in the bureaucracy, which showed itself mainly in the following aspects:

The overstaffing of offices with superfluous personnel grew into a very serious situation. In the feudal society employment was solely based on relationships. It was, therefore, unavoidable that positions became overstaffed with superfluous personnel. With the inflationary increase of eunuch power this evil got constantly worse. For instance in the Cheng-hua reign, the eunuch Liang Fang "obtained a palace decree to employ up to 1,000 officials as what he called messenger officers." On this matter Censor Zhang Ji memorialized: "Recently low-caste thievish characters preposterously push into the ranks of high officials. Dog butchers and silk peddlers occupy honorable and important positions. On the civil side, men who don't know to spell a single word and on the military side men who have never shot an arrow are unjustifiably rising up rapidly and repeatedly promoted within one year. Sometimes father and son sit in the same office or brothers share the same government post. There are even soliders and artisans who abscond, change their names and gain entrance to upper circles. Officials engage in bribery, conceal their crimes and curry for the favor of their superiors. In one day dozens of people are installed as officials and in one office hundreds of people are put on the payroll. Was there ever in our history a governmental order of this kind?"<sup>20</sup> In the Wu-tsung reign, Liu Jin "on checking official records to decide on awards, picked out and promoted over 1,560 people and newly employed several hundreds for the imperial bodyguard." In the Tian-chi reign, when Wei Zhongxian usurped authority and oppressed the people "menials and thievish slaves climbed up the official ladder on the basis of certain connections or by mere sycophancy, climbed up into the highest positions, tarnishing the ranks of high officials and corrupting court and government officials." Even offspring "in their infancy, not yet able to walk" were enobled to marquises and earls and the unnecessary employment of superfluous officials got to a stage where there was simply no more place for more additions.

There was no clear dividing line between right and wrong, rewards and punishments were meted out improperly. The situation of "good men not necessarily reaping any benefits from their good deeds, and evil men not necessarily suffering their deserved disaster" was fairly conspicuous throughout the entire Ming era. The basic reason for this situation was, of course, the ultra-autocratic monarchical rule and the sharpening contradictions within the ruling class. Right or wrong, merit or demerit was always determined by the likes and dislikes of the emperor or the minority group in power; it was decided only on the basis of how beneficial or harmful it would be for this clique. But it is undoubtedly true that the intrusion of eunuchs into politics greatly exacerbated the situation. For instance in the Cheng-hua reign, the eunuch Wei Juan, in charge of maritime trade at Guangzhou, levied heavy taxes and seized property wherever he could, bringing "the Hainan island into a mood for revolt." Chen Xian, a senior municipal administrator of Guangdong, repeatedly reprimanded Wei Juan, who, therefore, hated Chen. In the 22nd year of Cheng-hua "during a famine in Guangdong and Guangxi, Chen Xian provided relief as he saw fit. Wei Juan falsely accused Chen Xian of distributing grain without authority and with the intention of enriching himself and gaining undeserved recognition and rewards for his underlings to pay debts of gratitude." Emperor Xian-cong dispatched Li Xing, a secretary of the board of punishments, and censor Xu Tongai to cross-examine the accused. "All were afraid of Wei Juan and did not dare to go against him. They asked the throne to dispatch a thousand men of the imperial bodyguard to take him into custody. He [Chen Xian] died at the Shiting temple in Nanchang," while Wei Juan stayed on in his post as grand defender.<sup>21</sup> In another instance, the prefect of Jingzhou, Wang Shou, was an exceptionally unscrupulous official but the judicial officials were afraid of him. At an audience in the 9th moon of the 3rd year of Zheng-de, the court of censors commented on his verbal statement: "The two judicial officials feared his power and their written comments would deceive the emperor. The people suffer from his insatiable demands and their cries of grievance shake the world." "This was a realistic reflection of Wang Shou's true features but because he could rely on Liu Jin, Wang could not be removed from office."<sup>22</sup> Since it was a time "when there was no clear distinction between right or wrong and rewards and punishments were meted out improperly," a large number of officials were naturally driven to flatter and ingratiate themselves with the eunuchs and men of power, which would provide their sustenance to the end of their days without having to work hard for it, and which allowed them to forget the hardships of the common people. It was a time when a great number of officials were driven to do evil rather than good.

The custom of flattering and todaying was flourishing to the utmost. The ultra-autocratic system with the additional rule of terror openly practiced by the special organs of the state, unavoidably created a thoroughly corrupt mode of behavior of all officials and high officers of state, namely of currying favors, insincerity, dishonesty and shamelessness, of holding on to lucrative posts and of consolidating all their sources of special favors. As early as in the Hong-wu reign under Zhu Yuanzhang's rule of strict punishments and control of officials, under conditions of wanton murder, there grew up a situation where officials and highest officers of state only paid attention to flattery and would not have the courage to criticize and remonstrate. This corrupt style of work, with its flattery and fawning, holding on to lucrative posts and consolidating all sources of special favors, got worse and truly disgusting with the growing power of the eunuchs. Toward the middle period of the Ming era, they "outdid each other in cruelty, outbid each other in shrewdness and deceptions, outmastered each other in flattery,

outperformed each other in servility," "they vilified people while flattering them to their faces and spread a net of lies." All these evil practices became so prevalent that they could no more be suppressed. History records that when Wang Zhen wielded power, Wang You managed, merely by flattery, to jump up from second-class secretary in the board of works to vice-president of the board of works. "Wang You was of good appearance and without whiskers and skillfully flattered Wang Zhen for his good looks. One day Wang Zhen asked: "Vice-President Wang, why don't you have whiskers?" Wang You replied: "Since you, venerable elder, have no whiskers, how would I dare have them."<sup>23</sup> Instances of such contemptible and shameless officials like Wang You were later "extremely common." It is well known that Wei Zhongxian had numerous adopted sons and grandsons, who were not ashamed of this fact but rather boasted of it as an honor. Furthermore, the governor of Zhejiang Province, Pan Ruzhen, was the first to build a temple in honor of Wei Zhongxian. This custom very quickly spread throughout the country. The temples they built were absolutely resplendent, built as palaces with nine principal columns and ceremonials just like those for the emperor. "All hymns of praise were sounding like extolling a saint, calling him virtuous like the heavenly Yao, the saintliest, the most divine." The most despicable was Huang Yuntai, president of the board supervising soldiers' pay and rations. After he had built his temple for Wei, to demonstrate how deeply devoted to Wei he was, at the time when Wei's effigy was to be installed, "he performed five obeisances and three kowtows and had all civil and military officials lined up at the foot of the steps to do the same. After that was done, he stepped before Wei's image and prayed that 'his excellency' may give his support to certain affairs, then again kowtowed to express his gratitude. In a certain month he thanked 'his excellency' for having raised him and expressed his gratitude with further kowtows, also had the whole company again do the same." At that time, even people like Hua Kui, Prince of Chu, and Li Chengming, Marquis of Wuqing, "honoring him as a princely person and of high family status, offered up flattery of auspicious favors received and vied with each other in praying for Wei's well-being."<sup>24</sup> The customs of the Ming officials had reached this extreme state of corruption, a rare phenomenon throughout our history.

Corruption was a widely prevalent custom. Corruption may be said to be a chronic disease of the exploiting classes. Even though Zhu Yuanzhang employed cruel punishments and draconian laws to punish corrupt officials and thereby brought about a slight improvement in officialdom, corruption could not be stamped out completely. As the decay of the landlord class progressed, the general corruption among officials became more and more rampant. Following the middle period of the Ming dynasty, it had gone so far that "men showed no ambition to work hard and bribes were a common practice." Zhang Juzheng once pointed out: "As from the Jia-jing reign on, those in charge of government affairs practiced bribery to achieve their purposes. The bureaucracy exploits the people and use their gains to get into the good graces of those in power."<sup>25</sup> In the Chong-zhen reign, Ming Emperor Si-cong could not but admit in his decrees, that "in recent years officials were lax in levying taxes and administration deteriorated. Love of writing and honesty have died out. They consider the baton as outdated and take no heed of agriculture and sericulture. They extort heavy taxes and levies merely to feed their gluttonous desires. They increase neighborhood tithing to fill to some extent the needs of fund requirements. Our people's suffering from cruel government is no less serious than floods and conflagrations."<sup>26</sup>



There are, of course, many reasons why there was no letup in the general corruption and one extremely important factor was the exaction of bribes by the eunuchs. To elucidate this problem we may only have to cite the following facts: After Xu Xi managed by flattered Wang Zhen to be selected as grand secretary of the board of war, the high officials of the various offices and bureaus all called on him bringing presents of gold. At the days of audience, it was the rule for a caller to bring at least 100 pieces of gold; those bringing 1,000 pieces could wine and dine at will. People vied with each other to bring bribes, only then were they welcome."<sup>27</sup> In the Zheng-de reign, "all officials of state coming to the capital for an imperial audience, feared Liu Jin's tyrannical temper and were afraid that disaster may befall them, so each collected silver to bribe him, one province up to 20,000 taels. They frequently borrowed it from rich residents of the capital. When they got back to their posts, they took money from the treasury to repay the loans, which were called metropolitan debts. High and low were engaged in this activity, devoid of all sense of shame."<sup>28</sup> In his chapter on the Eastern Depot in his *Dong-yu za-ji* [Random Notes of Grief] Shi Dun wrote: "The Eastern Depot was originally established for criminal investigations and arrests, but its items of business grew to such an extent that it was more than in the board of civil affairs and the board of war, because they monopolized the selling of civil and military posts as well as of titles of nobility. Finally the two boards arranged with the Eastern Depot: for each high appointment an imposition of several thousand taels, called regular sustenance money. Later an additional several ten thousand was to be added, officials inside and outside the palace to support this without making demands on each other." Examining the property of several eunuchs on the basis of lists of confiscated property, their wealth must have run into many thousands and tens of thousands of taels, truly most frightening sums! The wealth of those eunuchs for whom no lists of confiscated property exist must have been equally large. The greater part of these fortunes originated from bribes, which in the last analysis is really the "fat and blood" of the working people.

Intensifying party struggle. Originally, due to the struggle for power and profits within the ruling class, deep-rooted sectarianism easily developed and took the form of party struggle. However, the intrusion of eunuchs into government rendered these party struggles even more severe. As mentioned before, in order to consolidate and augment their power, the eunuchs had to ingratiate themselves with the emperor, but also had to win control over groups of officials and high officers of state and enlist their services. A corresponding number of officials and high officers of state were ready, for the sake of their future careers, to set aside all scruples and sell their souls and attach themselves slavishly to the eunuchs. Like a pack of rogues they would oppose and keep out anyone of different views and would attack any opposing clique. They would rapaciously plunder and carry out brutal oppression, persecuting the people ruthlessly. However, there were indeed some officials and high officers of state who "did not fear devils and demons." For their own interests, which were also the interests of the entire landlord class, unafraid of prevailing dangers and not hesitating to sacrifice their lives, they launched a blow-for-blow struggle against the all-powerful eunuch clique. For instance, history records "when chief eunuch Wei passed through Wu, Zhou Shunchang treated him cordially for several days ...escorting cavalymen urged Wei to act, suggesting he attack and appropriate for himself the city of Shunchang. Zhou Shunchang wide-eyed shouted: 'Don't you know that there are men in the world who are not afraid to die? Tell Wei Zhongxian, here I am, Zhou Shunchang, a former official of the Board of Civil Affairs.'"<sup>29</sup> This heroic spirit is heavens apart from the spirit of those who wagged their tails ingratiatingly and curried favor by flattery. It is a pity that the former had never been able to defeat the

eunuch clique that was hiding under the protection of the emperor. However, their repeated defeats did not stop the fight, but on the contrary rendered it ever more violent. Between the middle and the latter period of the Ming dynasty with its Donglin party and the eunuch party, the fight developed to a climax and only ended with the fall of the dynasty. Because of the violence of the party struggle there developed in the middle and end periods of the Ming dynasty that turbulent political situation with its endless debates. "The legal and political order fell into decay and high and low disintegrated." The strength of the Ming dynasty rule was also greatly weakened as the party struggle increased in violence.

As the feelers of the eunuchs stretched into the military, the decay and decadence in official and military circles increased rapidly and as a consequence the stability of the Ming dynasty rule was critically shaken.

In the preface to the chapter on officials, the History of the Ming Dynasty states: "The commanders of the five armies were originally veteran generals of distinction, and the military system was one of respect and severity. ... Later more and more eunuchs infiltrated, acting as inspectors of the border defenses, or as military supervisors participating in campaigns in all directions, with the result that the border defense system greatly deteriorated and the Ming throne finally could not be sustained." The main reason why eunuchs serving as military supervisors, garrison defenders, inspectors, superintendents or armament, etc., were so detrimental to the border defenses was that they were highly ineffective in the military. The eunuchs came into the military as representatives of the emperor and unavoidably began to act autocratically, and all the generals and defense commanders were, of course, everywhere impeded as if holding nominal posts only. As early as in the early years of the Xuan-de reign, eunuchs at the borders were "holding all power, acting wantonly and recklessly and not capable of controlling the entire military." <sup>30</sup> In the Cheng-zhen reign, Wang Zhichen, a superintendent with the army, referred to himself as "superfluous official" and "retained as nominal official" in a memorial addressed to Emperor Si-cong, which is clear evidence of the restraints imposed by the eunuchs. This is one aspect of the problem. Another aspect is that the majority of officials at the borders were happy to have inspectors, because it was then only necessary to satisfy the greed of the supervisors; they would then have someone to rely on who would play up their merits and cover up their faults." The eunuch supervisors were, therefore, either attempting nothing and accomplishing nothing, or helping along the general decay and decadence. In addition, the eunuch military superintendents furthermore made the military camps their bases for the building up of their power and for amassing money and property. They used private people as garrison commanders, employed able-bodied soldiers as servants, embezzled soldiers' pay, cut down the feed for the horses, and used every trick to enrich themselves. They were "haughty because of the power in their hands. They considered as greatest achievement the capture of many prisoners and much loot, and made light of humiliating officers and men." As a consequence, there was increasing disintegration among officers and men. When it came to fight a battle "then only emaciated soldiers were sent to fight, so that decisive victory could not be achieved. When the slightest advantage was gained, this was exaggerated into great triumphs." Due to these malpractices for selfish ends, "men who had not yet left the capital district had their merits already recorded in the official register." This made "those who were killed, die with grievances on their lips, and those who were wounded wailing in pain." This kind of an army had no fighting strength at all, that is only altogether natural. The social economy suffered serious damage, which also rapidly sharpened the class contradiction.

The exploitation by the ruling class increased constantly and reached such a state that the rampant corruption would have the common people scream with pain and despairing of life. In addition the dispatch of a large number of eunuchs charged with every type of extortion and plunder further contributed to the deterioration of the social economy. As from the Yong-le reign on, the demonic claws of the eunuchs extended into every field of the economy. They forcefully seized land on an extensive scale, "they imposed on households in circuits and provinces, they used manpower as corvée, they did not submit to taxation," they were doing great harm to the people. They received mandates to act as purchasing agents, they willfully imposed levies on civil and military men, demanding bribes. On behalf of the emperor they acted as purchasing agents for every kind of goods, "there was the trouble of being rejected or having to stock up, there was the worry of supplying all the needs. If the court's requirements were very limited, the costs to the people was very heavy." The "officially requested to have warehouses, or clandestinely built warehouses and shops, they took in travelers, they engaged in credit business relying on their power and refused to pay up." They requested the salt permits and to have the monopoly of salt sales, the profits of which could be twice or five-fold." They spoiled the government's tax monopolies and stole the profits from the merchants." They took advantage of their "supervisory faculties" for acts of insatiable greed and cruelty." They pretended to send tribute gifts and collected levies and taxes. Every one of these items naturally greatly increased the burden on the people, and the most harmful were the mining commissioners and tax superintendents, the most serious destructive damage to the social economy and a hard to endure calamity for the masses of people.

The large-scale dispatch of mining commissioners and tax superintendents started in the 24th year of the Wan-li reign. Mining commissioners were "to be found everywhere in the empire" and "in all large cities there were tax superintendents." The Lianghuai area had a superintendent of salt and Guangdong had a superintendent of pearls. They were either specially commissioned or acting concurrently. Big and small eunuchs were swarming throughout the country, sucking the marrow and blood of the people in order to collect and deliver up revenue."<sup>31</sup> The alleged opening up of mines and the collection of taxes were only signboards, they actually "did not want mines to be dug or taxes to be negotiated; the people's killocks, river banks and dikes, public roads and highways all were counted as mines; officials, peasants and artisans were all counted as people who had to pay taxes."<sup>32</sup> Because they had the support of the imperial court, the mining commissioners and tax superintendents could afford to be extremely overbearing. They extorted money from the people everywhere they could, going even so far as to "put an arrow on the bow to kill honest people, ruining homes and whole clans with the calamity growing into a ruthless mass slaughter ... destruction of burial mounds and disturbing the bones of the dead, maltreatment of children and leaving good people groaning with grief."<sup>33</sup> A few years after the mining commissioners and tax superintendents had been sent out, the whole country felt "as if dropped into a boiling cauldron with no place to take refuge to. Poor and rich were completely finished and done for, farms and orchards were stripped clean, people ran off their land, sold children and deserted their wives, all roads resounded with crying and lamenting and lanes were left desolate."<sup>34</sup> It truly came about that "even the smallest village had not even one chicken or dog left. There was not a grain of rice or millet in the larger cities."<sup>35</sup> As a result "the individual citizen was unable to survive" and the whole social economy went bankrupt. Faced with this grave danger to their rule, some knowledgable members of the ruling class



repeatedly memorialized on the great harm done with regard to mining and taxation, and demanding a recall of all mining commissioners and tax superintendents. In his memorial to put a stop to the mining commissioners and tax superintendents, Li Sancai, governor of Fengbo, indignantly pointed out: "Since the mining and tax affairs were started up on a wide scale, thousands of people have lost their livelihood. Your Majesty are the lord of these people, but you not only do nothing to clothe them, but even steal their clothes. You not only do not feed them, but have even all their food swept up and taken away. The tax officials are extremely pressing, extortionist orders come as thick as hair on a cow's back. ...High and low are being taxed, profit is all that one gets to hear." He also asked reproachingly: "Your Majesty are fond of pearls and jade, the people are also fond of having enough to eat and wear. Your Majesty loves to have generation after generation, the people also love their wives and children. Why do you want to pile up gold sky-high and not leave the people even pints and pecks of chaff and husks? Your Majesty wishes your children and grandchildren many thousand years of life but you allow the common people not even one more day to live?!" This is extremely bitter talk, but you might as well ask a tiger for its skin if you want Ming Emperor Shen-tong, with his out-and-out rotten and bloodthirsty nature, to give up "the pearls from Guangnan, cinnebar from Yunnan and Guizhou, precious stones from Kongqing, Honan chinaware, Shaanxi tapestry, cotton from Sichuan and gold and silver mined in Qi and Chu, which he greedily amassed with a thousand tricks and schemes"<sup>37</sup> all these huge exploitations. At the same time, the eunuchs too, who had inflicted wanton persecution and amassed riches under the pretext of official mining and tax business, also would not let go of their loot. All memorials that requested to put a stop to the mining and tax activities were as a rule, therefore, "filed away" or "not reported" to higher authority.

The rapacious acts and wanton persecutions by the mining commissioners and tax superintendents resulted in an intensified class contradiction, which had been extremely sharp even before that. The direct consequences were a series of revolts by the people. The main revolts were: Gao Huai's revolt in Liaodong, Liang Yong's revolt in Shaanxi, Chen Feng's revolt in Jiangxia, Li Feng's revolt in Xinhui, Sun Long's revolt in Suzhou, Yang Rong's revolt in Yunnan, Liu Cheng's revolt in Changzhen, Pan Xiang's revolt in Jiangxi. Gu Yingtai gave as his opinion: "Those were days of disintegration and collapse, people scattered and governments dispersed. Lucky those who managed to survive. However, at that time already the seeds were planted for the fall of the dynasty. It took about 30 more years until the rotten reactionary Ming dynasty was swept away by the violent storm of peasant revolution."

The Ming rulers thought to use the eunuchs as a kind of clamp to restrain the bureaucracy and the people, so as to maintain and consolidate their ultra-autocratic monarchical rule, but it turned out exactly contrary to the wishes of the rulers. The perverse acts of the eunuchs hastened the dynasty's demise. One may say that in a certain sense the eunuchs dug the grave for the Ming dynasty. What a stinging and bitter irony of history!



#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Records of the Hong-wu Reign of Ming Taizu, Vol 112.
2. Preface to the Chapter on Eunuchs, History of the Ming Dynasty.
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4. Biography of Jin Ying, with the Biography of Wang Jin, History of the Ming Dynasty.
5. Biography of Jiang Zong, History of the Ming Dynasty.
6. Biography of Li Guang, History of the Ming Dynasty.
7. Preface to the Chapter on Officials, History of the Ming Dynasty.
8. Guo Que, Vol 43.
9. Biography of Wang Zhen, History of the Ming Dynasty.
10. Guo Que, Vol 39.
11. Biography of Liu Jin, History of the Ming Dynasty.
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14. Ibid., Vol 13.
15. Zui wei lu, yi zong lie huang di.
16. Guo Que, Vol 37.
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19. Ri zhi lu, Huan guan.
20. Biography of Zhang Ji, History of the Ming Dynasty.
21. Guo Que, Vol 40.
22. Ibid., Vol 47.
23. Ming shi ji shi ben mo, Wang Zhen yong shi.
24. Biography of Yan Mingtai, History of the Ming Dynasty.
25. Collected Works of Zhang Juzheng, Reply to Song Yangshan, Governor of Yingtian, on the Question of Grain for the People.

26. Chun ming meng yu lu, Du cha yuan.
27. Ming shi ji shi ben mo, Wang Zhen yong shi.
28. Ibid., Liu Jin yong shi.
29. Ibid., Wei Zhongxian's Disturbance of Government.
30. The Records of the Xuan-de Reign of Ming Emperor Xuan-cong, Vol 56.
31. Biography of Chen Zeng, History of the Ming Dynasty.
32. Biography of Tian Dayi, History of the Ming Dynasty.
33. Biography of Zhao Shiqing, History of the Ming Dynasty.
34. Memorials of Ming Ministers, Vol 33.
35. Biography of Wang Zongmu, History of the Ming Dynasty.
36. The Corrupt Practices of the Mining Tax, Ming shi ji shi ben mo.
37. Sui kou ji lue, Bian ju dian.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

SHANGHAI FAMILY PLANNING MAGAZINE--Shanghai, 26 Oct (XINHUA)--An exhibition on birth control, maternity and child care has opened at the Shanghai Workers' Cultural Center. Films, slides, charts and drawings illustrate the importance of family planning, its relationship to China's economy and the improvement of living standards. New contraceptive drugs and devices are displayed and specialists from child care centers, hospitals and human reproduction regulation experts answer visitors' questions. China's first magazine on birth control will be put out earlier next month by the Shanghai Science and Technology Publishing House. The first issue of BIRTH AND BIRTH CONTROL will include 20 clinical reports and articles on basic theoretical research as well as on contraceptive drugs and devices and sterilization surgery. The magazine is edited by Shanghai Institute of Family Planning. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 26 Oct 80 OW]

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